

THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

A CONTRIBUTION TO MENTAL HYGIENE

BY

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NEW YORK

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TO THE MEMORY OF

A. J. A.

A UNIQUE PERSONALITY AND AN EXPERT IN
THE TRAINING OF GIRLS WITH DISORDERED
PERSONALITIES

PREFACE

THIS book is a continuation of the subject of mental hygiene to which an introductory volume, *The Normal Mind*, published in 1924, was devoted. The central conception of the former book was integration and the conditions favorable to its maintenance. Naturally the basic principles of the present volume are the same, the preservation and development of an integrated personality. The studies during the last seven years, however, have made possible an extended addition to the former work with a broader conception and a wider application of these principles.

Three fundamental tendencies or impulses are essential for health and development: first, growth in its broadest sense, including maturation; second, learning; third, integration. This book has to do with the last of these. The three tendencies are, however, related. Both growth and learning may be said to involve different forms of integration. The development of integration, on the other hand, apparently depends largely on maturation and is favored by learning. The interrelation of these impulses has been shown by recent genetic studies in biology.

The essential thing for the mental health of the individual is the integration of all the different factors and traits and different selves of the individual in a balanced and harmonious but progressive and developing personality. From the outset it should be noted that, although a consistent total pattern in an individual's behavior is implied, integration of the personality represents by no means a passive condition. It is not a mere equilibrium of the different parts and functions of the organism. On the contrary,

it is distinctly an active condition. It means coöperation in function. The essential characteristic of integration is the power of adaptation or coördinated activity in relation to any situation. Thus practically it implies variability on the part of the integrated organism rather than equilibrium. With this active function of the integrated organism there is always alternation between conditions of stability and instability; just as the conditions of somatic health, in the matter of nutrition, for example, involve disintegration, dissimilation, and the breaking down of tissue as an essential condition for assimilation and the building up of tissue. Thus in the mental field the breaking down of the relatively stable condition of integration may be a condition for a higher adjustment, re-integration at a higher level.

In the following pages this conception of biological integration is considered in many aspects, from many points of view, in many relations, individual, social, genetic, educational, hygienic, with many illustrations, and inevitably with many repetitions.

A friend of the author, who teaches students in college courses, says that in order to make the lowest third of his class understand a matter, he finds it necessary to repeat it three times. For some students a still greater number of repetitions is necessary. In part at least this book meets that requirement; for some especially important matters in personality hygiene have been repeated over and over again. If any may wish to use it as a text, whatever its defects, it does have one characteristic desirable in a textbook, that of permitting flexibility in its use. For students beginning the subject of mental hygiene, adult classes, mothers' clubs, and the like, the more technical parts—perhaps, for example, Chapter V, on Personality Differences—may be omitted. For advanced students, on the other hand, parts of chap-

ters giving extended details, may be omitted, the summaries carefully studied, and additional reading from the bibliographies assigned.

Again a certain flexibility as regards content in the use of any textbook in mental hygiene is desirable; for example, in this book the author has distinguished a dozen factors in human personality, what seemed to the writer a convenient distinction. Any list of this kind, as pointed out, is nevertheless arbitrary, and no two psychologists would be likely to make the same. Hence for advanced students it might be better to let each individual make his own list of personality factors. In any case the list given should not be taken too rigorously, and the interrelation of the different factors should be recognized.

The wise have always studied human personality; and psychologists and psychiatrists, both amateur and professional, have written about it. In recent years many scientific investigations in this field have been made. Thus to-day even the literature that has some value is enormous. To this Roback devotes a volume containing more than 3,000 titles. The result is already a nucleus of significant facts concerning both children and adults.

To write a book in a field where the material is so enormous is rash in the extreme. The purpose of the present volume, however, is not to present a complete account of personality, but to emphasize some facts important for mental health, to give examples of suggestive investigations, to show the great opportunity for valuable observation and study, and to give helpful illustrations of the fundamental conception of integration in the development of personality.

The teacher's business, like the function of the parent, is to deal with human personality in its development. The transcendent importance of this could hardly be re-

vealed more clearly than it is from the point of view of personality studies. Here as yet we know relatively little. Even the methods for the study of personality have not yet been adequately developed; but its promise is great; and the task of the teacher is at least clearly that of the hygienist, to guide and protect the development of the integrated personality from those hostile forces that repress growth and crush out initiative. General Smuts is not too optimistic when he says that personality seems to be "the most important and fruitful problem to which thinkers can direct their attention."

What is actually known about human personality should at least be helpful to teachers and students; and it seems better, instead of giving a short account of many things in human development about which we know little, to give a more extended account of a few things important for the mental health. Since, in spite of the multitude of investigations of different traits and conditions, a vast amount of research is still needed, it is impossible at present to give any adequate treatment. The only feasible method seems to be merely to present in some detail an account of important aspects of the subject and illustration of the many studies already made.

Thus, for example, of the primitive emotions, fear has been chosen. This has been treated in some detail with concrete illustrations from observation. Even in this one subject, however, no complete presentation can be given, and merely a few studies are cited.

For those who may use this book in the classroom, this method has some advantages; for naturally teachers who have sufficient time and opportunity will suggest other subjects for further study by the students. In case of the primitive emotions, a valuable opportunity for further study of this kind would be given by suggesting to the student

the subject of anger and giving initial help by reference to the extended treatment of this emotion by Stratton, to the investigation on the cerebral localization of this in the thalamus made by Cannon, and to the extended study of exhibitions of anger in forty-five children recently reported by Miss Goodenough at the University of Minnesota.

In different subjects, a similar method has been employed. As a rule only one investigation has been chosen and an account given in some detail. For example, of the many studies of testimony among children the recent investigations by Maria Zillig have been described. In the great number of studies of eidetic phenomena, a larger number have been taken for illustration, but relatively only a few of the many. And so with practical studies and methods of work.

Although lack of space and lack of knowledge make this method necessary, it has nevertheless further advantages. Thus its very inadequacy, its incompleteness, its complexity, and sometimes its vagueness and paradoxical character, parallel our meager scientific data and our vastly complex and varied knowledge from observation. In many cases it merely furnishes for readers and students suggestions to look up additional data relating to the subject under consideration.

Naturally the special example chosen for illustration often may not be the best, and a good task for the student in many cases would be to find another illustration. Often another equally good will be available, sometimes one much better. Those who have time for such extra study are likely to find an exercise of this kind especially helpful.

The aim of developing in the reader a permanent interest in human personality is likely to be better attained by this method of illustration than by an attempt to cover any conventional field.

In the present volume it is necessary to make still further limitations of subject matter, omitting even subjects which have significant relations to those of our immediate concern. The writer, for example, recognizes the importance of the sympathetic nervous system and the endocrine glands. The endocrine factor, although probably often misinterpreted and exaggerated, has been hardly stated too strongly by scientific students of endocrinology as a general condition in determining personality, healthful or unhealthful. But its intricate and fascinating story cannot be told here.

Nor is any attempt made to give an account of the important results and the rich literature of modern psychiatric study; and most of the illustrations used are of normal individuals. The important contributions of psychoanalysis have now been made fairly clear, and its methods are now being standardized, but these contributions are chiefly for psychiatry rather than for mental hygiene, and in any case they cannot be recounted.

Tremendously important as character may be in relation to personality, this too cannot be treated here, in spite of the fact that character frequently has important relations to hygiene, and also in spite of the fact that, in the view of many, a perfect personal hygiene is the only possible way to approximate a perfect character. All these profound problems of morals and of ethics do not directly concern us.

In a word, this is not a treatise on psychiatry, psychoanalysis, or sociology, or ethics, or endocrinology, or mental and personnel tests, although all of these have important relations to personality.

The book is an attempt to present the scientific conception of the normal integrated personality, the conditions that seem favorable to its wholesome development, and also some of the conditions likely to produce personality

disorders. It is positive, **dynamic**, constructive. It emphasizes the normal rather than the pathological, the prevention rather than the cure of mental disorder. Its hygienic dependence is on normal function, the normal expression of human impulses, coördinated purposive activity, worth while tasks, the acquisition of wholesome interests, right adjustment of work and rest, attention to the present situation, and habitual response of the whole personality.

When we reflect on the prevalence of personality disorders, the vast number of people suffering from mental trouble in greater or less degree, and that a cautious physician with wide experience like Dr. Charles H. Mayo of the Rochester Clinic tells us that "every second hospital bed in the United States is for the mentally afflicted," the need of studying the conditions of prevention is obvious.

The writer has now a pleasant task to perform in expressing his indebtedness to the many persons who have assisted him. I wish to express my thanks to the publishers of the *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology* for the privilege of reprinting my article on "Personality Differences and Mental Health"; to the *Journal of Expression* for permission to use portions of my article on "Personality and Public Speaking," published in that magazine; to the *British Journal of Psychology*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, and Jean Piaget for my abstract in part of his account of the child's ideas of cause; to *Mental Hygiene* and to Miss Louise A. Nelson for my description of Ruskin; and to the many authors and publishers to whom reference is made in the text and the bibliographies.

To a multitude of hygienists, psychiatrists, and psychologists he owes a debt that cannot be adequately expressed. To mention merely one or two examples, the scientific work of Dr. Edwin G. Boring, of Dr. Arnold Gesell, and of Dr. Kenneth S. Lashley, has been especially stimulating and

helpful. *Psychological Abstracts* published by the Clark University Press have been always useful.

To Robert K. Shaw and the Worcester Public Library I am indebted for many favors; and to Louis N. Wilson and the staff of the Clark University Library I am grateful for special courtesies and most valuable aid. To the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and their publications I am also indebted.

I wish to express my indebtedness also to a multitude of unknown helpers—students, teachers, readers, critics, stimulating audiences, and helpful correspondents.

More concretely, I am grateful to my old friend, the late Professor Edward W. Flagg, of the State Normal School at Potsdam, New York; to Josephine M. Burnham, Professor at the University of Kansas; to Leo Ivok of Worcester, Massachusetts, and especially to Leonard Carmichael of Brown University, and to Adolph W. Aleck of the State Normal School at Paterson, New Jersey, for valuable information and suggestion. To Grace Burnham, Vice Principal of Hosmer Hall School, St. Louis, I am especially grateful for reading the manuscript, for encouragement and valuable criticism. To Professor A. Wilmer Duff of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, I am immensely indebted for detailed criticism of the manuscript and for invaluable suggestions. To my secretary, Marion Ross, I express my gratitude for unusual assistance, without which the book could not have been completed. During a period of visual bankruptcy she loaned me her eyes and has aided me throughout in selecting pertinent scientific literature. She has not only done the work of stenographer and typist, but also read the proof, made the index, and assisted in innumerable ways.

W. H. B.

CONTENTS

PREFACE CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE BACKGROUND OF PERSONALITY	i
Lashley's Studies	2
The Higher Significance of Integration	6
Personality Tests	9
Zoepffel's Study	11
Diet as a Condition of Personality	13
Responses to Environment	14
Conditioned Responses	15
Associated Ideas	16
Emotions	17
Conditioned Emotions	17
Influence of the Family and Social Environment	19
The Complexity of Personality	21
Factors of Personality	23
Summary	25
II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGO	28
Taine's Description	29
Early Childhood	30
Piaget's Study	30
Two Levels of Thought	31
The Child's Thought Autistic	31
Mere Words Not Understood	32
All Children Apparently Egoistic	32
The Normal Self	33
Normal Maturity	33
The Child's Performance	33
The Child and Adults	34
Food Dramas	35
Illness as a Defense	35
Clinical Cases	36
Vanity Normal in Infancy	36
The Significance of Home Behavior	37
The Development of Skepticism	38
Later Childhood	39
Self-Defense	40
The Habit of Blame	42
Adolescence	43
Normal Self-Regard	45

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Maturity	45
Summary	49
III. OTHER FACTORS OF PERSONALITY	53
Attention	53
Emotional Tendencies	54
The Temperaments	54
Theories of Emotion	56
The Genetic Point of View Is Helpful	56
The Human Will	57
One's Moral Character	58
Conscience	58
Individual Differences in Conscience	59
Ideals and Beliefs	62
Attitudes and Interests	63
The Learning Attitude	63
Confidence	65
The Religious Attitudes	66
The Individual's Knowledge	66
Imagination and Memory	67
A Concrete Study	67
Intelligence	72
Common Sense, Judgment, Wisdom	73
The Indeterminate Factor	76
Normality	77
The Psychiatric Point of View	77
Integration of All Factors	78
Summary	79
IV. UNCONSCIOUS ATTITUDES	84
Unconscious Freedom	85
Original and Imitative	88
Henning's Experiments	89
Unconscious Errors	92
Zillig's Studies	93
Bias for the Old	96
Prejudices of Teachers	96
Practical Value of These Results	99
Affective Attitudes	101
Unconscious Stimuli and Responses	103
Unconscious Attitudes of Parents	104
Unconscious Folly	106
Unconscious Social Attitudes	108
Being Oneself	110
Masks and Reality	110
The Mask in High Schools	113
Masks Universal	114
Masks Sometimes Natural	115
Danger from Unconscious Tendencies	116
Detachment in Thinking	116
Summary	118

CONTENTS

xvii

CHAPTER

PAGE

V.	PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES	121
	Definitions	121
	Personality and Character	122
	Individual Differences in Personality	124
	Kraepelin's Studies	124
	The Pyknic and the Asthenic	124
	The Relation Between Physical Structure and Mental Type	125
	The Cyclothyme and the Schizothyme	125
	The Socially and Mechanically Inclined	127
	Type Studies of Children	128
	Krasusky's Study of Children	129
	The Types Among Children	130
	Differences of Character	130
	The Cyclothyme Type	132
	The Schizothyme Type	133
	A Study of Boys	135
	Overweight Children	136
	Tall Children	137
	Diseased Children	137
	Changes of Type	138
	The Genetic Method	139
	Other Mental Types	141
	The Introvert and the Extravert	141
	Studies of Children	142
	Introversion and Mental Health	144
	The Sense of Inferiority or Superiority	145
	Critics and Learners	148
	Eidetic Types	149
	Eidetic Imagery Among Children	150
	Liefmann's Investigation	152
	Klüver's Study	154
	The Integrated and Disintegrated Types	155
	Genetic Stages	158
	Schmülling's Conclusion	159
	Need of Scientific Studies	163
	Practical Suggestions	164
	Manifold Types	167
	Summary	169
VI.	THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY	176
	Integration	176
	The Initial Wholeness	177
	A Concrete Case	179
	Integration at a High Level	181
	Familiar Illustrations of Integration	181
	An Example of Integration	181
	The Significance of Integration	185
	The Tendency to Integration	185
	Conditions for Developing the Integrated Personality	187
	Preserving the Child's Integration	187

The Child's Task	193
Meeting Hardships	195
Persistence	198
Training in Adjustment	200
The Reaction of Sleep	202
Hygiene and Direction of Emotion	204
The Expression of Emotion	205
Repression of Emotion	206
The Use of Expletives	206
Helpful Attitudes	210
A Sense of Humor	210
Types of Disposition	212
Examples of Wholesome Personality	213
Concrete Examples	213
Edmund C. Sanford	214
G. Stanley Hall	214
Summary	216

VII. THE OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE 221

Subjective and Objective Attitudes	222
Both Familiar Attitudes	223
The Subjective Attitude in Abnormal Cases	223
The Value of an Objective Attitude	224
The Attitude of the Wise	224
Kant's Hygiene	225
The Objective Attitude in Times of Stress	226
The Supreme Hour	228
Emotion	229
Difficulties	230
Pseudo-Objective Attitudes	230
Shifting Moods	232
The Objective Attitude in the Training of Children	232
General Training	232
Special Training	233
Conceit	235
Sense of Inferiority	236
Fear	237
The Scientific Attitude	238
The Learning Attitude	238
The Goal of Science	240
The Usual Attitude Toward Science	240
Misunderstandings	241
Introverts and the Objective Attitude	241
The Scientific Attitude as a Health Asset	242
Summary	244

VIII. DISINTEGRATING CONDITIONS 247

Some Major Causes of Disintegration	247
Hunger	247
Thirst	248
Fatigue	249

	PAGE
Illness	249
Health and Efficiency	250
Insincerity	250
Heroes of Illness	251
Disease and the Ego	251
The Egoist as Invalid	253
Pain	253
Extreme Attention	255
Reducing Pain by Integration	256
Lower Center the Seat of Pain	257
Hysterical Pain	258
The Hygiene of Pain	260
Haste	262
Accuracy	263
Speed in Mental Tests	263
Abnormal Attention	266
A Lost Object	267
Uncontrolled Emotion	269
Minor Causes of Disintegration	272
Responses of the Child	274
Integration Relative	277
Temporary Disintegration	277
Temporary Integration at a Lower Level	279
Egocentric Integration	281
The Contribution of Mental Hygiene	282
The Period of Disintegration	282
Hygiene of the Aged	282
Regimen for Children and the Aged	284
Summary	286
IX. FEAR AND THE PERSONALITY	291
Violent Change	292
Fear and Disintegration	293
The Genetic Psychology of Fear	294
Conditioned Fears	294
Fear in Childhood	295
Fear-Producing Conditions	297
The Unknown	298
Disease	299
The Danger of Loss	301
Blame	301
Noise	301
Evidence from Psychiatry	302
Children and Noise	303
Children and Earthquakes	305
A Focus of Fear	305
Individuals as Foci of Fear	305
Physical Defect as a Focus of Fear	306
Fear of One's Task	308
Fear of Action	309
Conditions and Effects of Fear	311

False Remedies	311
Effects of Fear	312
Fear and Wisdom	313
Remedies for Fear	314
Love	314
Dependence	315
Knowledge	317
Coördinated Activity	318
Direct Action	318
Indignation and Fear	320
A Suggestion to Children	321
Fear and the Personality	322
Interest and Fear	323
Anxiety and the Personality	323
The Objective Attitude and Fear	324
The Opportunity for Study	326
Social Protection	327
Summary	327
X. MENTAL CONFLICTS	332
The Conflict of Personalities	332
Major Conflicts	334
Survivals as the Condition of Conflict	335
Premature Development	335
Domestic Conditions of Conflict	336
Children of Divorced Parents	337
Social Conditions of Conflict	337
Professional Conditions of Conflict	338
Teachers' Attitudes	338
The Golden Mean	339
The New England Conscience	341
The Psychology of Accidents	342
Conflict at Different Ages	342
Adolescent Conflicts	343
Conflicts Inevitable	344
Methods of Solving Mental Conflicts	344
Drugs	344
Ignoring the Conflict	345
Sleep	345
Repression	346
Integration at a Higher Level	346
Purpose and Fear in Conflict	350
The Objective Attitude	353
Scientific Study Needed	354
Unconscious Conflicts	354
Teaching as an Illustration	355
The Teacher's Opportunity	357
The Hygiene of Instruction	357
Conflict as Opportunity	358
Absolutism and Relativity	358
Practical Applications Relative	359

	PAGE
The Tendency to Absolutism	360
Type Distinctions Relative	365
Summary	366
XI. SURVIVALS AND PITFALLS	369
Injurious Emotional Survivals	369
Jealousy	370
Jealousy in Children	370
Jealousy as a Survival	372
Blame and Sensitiveness	372
Blame	372
Sensitiveness	375
Rules for the Sensitive	378
A Substitute for Blame	378
A Parable	380
Negativism	381
Healthful Survivals	382
The Sense of Dependence	384
Dependence Common	384
Survivals of Intellectual Attitudes	385
Other Survivals	387
Pitfalls	388
Mental Twists	388
Suspicion	388
One's Own Past	390
The Perfection Pitfall	392
The Low Objective	393
Direct Attack on Emotion	394
Intellect or Emotion	396
Familiarity	397
A Paradox	397
The Power of Words	398
A Concrete Illustration	399
Emotional Waste of Energy	400
Conceit	402
A Handicap of Hygiene	403
Summary	404
XII. THE PROBLEM OF FAILURE	407
Hygienic Aids in the Classroom	408
First Aid	409
The Aid of Mental Hygiene	409
The Aid of Psychology	410
The Child's Task	411
The Value of Failure	411
Competition	414
Knowledge of One's Faults	415
Failure in the First Grade	419
Teachers Who Blame	421
Preventive Discipline	422
Compensation	424

The Study of Personality	426
A Method of Observation	427
Order and Success	428
Health Conditions	429
Summary	432

XIII. OTHER PROBLEMS	435
Adjustment	435
The Search for Truth	437
The Problem of the Task	437
The Suitable Task	437
Experimental Studies of Children	438
The Personality and the Task	438
The Task of Dressing	441
A Means of Protecting Children	445
The Practical Value of the Task	445
The Danger of Freedom	448
The Example of Ruskin	449
"The Upardonable Sin"	455
The Problem of Parental Education	456
The Delinquent Parent	456
A Primer for Parents	457
Growth	457
Freedom for Play	458
Hygiene of Emotion	459
Avoidance of Excitement	459
Purposive Activity	460
Obedience	460
A Child Confessional	462
Adolescent Problems	463
Respect for the Child	464
The Study of Personality	464
The Problem of Integrating Methods	465
Speech and Integration of the Personality	465
G. Stanley Hall	468
Phillips Brooks	469
Essentials for Speaking	470
Wendell Phillips	471
General Problems of Mental Hygiene	472
Sorrow	473
Personal Problems	474
The Experimental Attitude	475
Problems in Regard to Practice	476
Summary	478
XIV. THE PROBLEM OF THE SOCIAL GROUP	481
Self and the Group	481
Social Methods	483
Social Education	484
Varied Methods	485
Prevention	487

	PAGE
The Promise of Hygiene	488
The Hygiene of the Group	488
Confidence	490
Confidence in Industry	491
The "Chip-on-the-Shoulder" Attitude	492
Group Leaders	493
Passive Group Members	494
The Aristocratic Fallacy	494
The Aims of Hygiene	496
Group Training	496
The Family	498
The School as a Social Group	500
The Great Social Problems	501
The Automobile and Patriotism	502
Automobile Psychoses	509
The Speed Mania	510
The Stubborn Facts	512
The Human Goal	515
Conditions of Permanence	516
The Social Experiment in Russia	517
The Unemployed	519
Democratic Training	520
Equality Is Not Freedom	521
Summary	523
XV. THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSONALITY	527
The Characteristics of Adolescence	528
New Social Interests	529
Conceit and Sensitiveness	530
The Desire for Change	534
Aims and Methods in Adolescent Training	535
Mental Health	536
Control of Emotion	536
School Debating	537
Social Training	539
Emancipation from Parents	539
Annoying Changes	540
Heterosexuality	544
No Time for Standardization	545
Sympathetic Understanding	546
Personality Disorders	546
Psychoses of Development	548
Conditioned Reflex Therapy	549
Plea for Understanding	549
Adolescent Sensitiveness	552
Mutual Understanding	552
The Role of Training	553
Adolescent Fears	555
Control of Fear	556
Why Does Practice Lag?	557
Summary	558

XVI. THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSONALITY: THE DISCOVERY

OF SELF	566
Danger from Introspection	561
Self-Knowledge	561
Physical Limitations	562
Mental Inferiority	562
Latent Potentialities	564
New Powers	564
Self-Centered Behavior	564
Childish Survivals	565
Defense Mechanisms	565
Altruism Still a Drah Stimulus	566
Impulse to Conduct Disorders	566
Egoism	566
Lack of Self-Control	566
Fear of Self	567
The Discovery of Error	568
Doubt	569
The Fact of Existence	572
Nature and Convention	573
Wearing a Mask	574
Rationalization	575
Mental Conflicts	576
Conflict with Parents	577
Belief and Practice	579
Relative Weakness	580
Personal Health	580
The Result of Self-Study	582
Need of Learning and Training	588
The Value of Life	590
A Mental Hygienist	591
The Diagnosis of Health	592
Vicarious Personality Traits	594
Aids to Self-Discovery	595
Aids to Development	596
Personality the Great Gift	597
Reading as an Aid to Self-Discovery	600
The Supreme Opportunity	602
Summary	603

XVII. THE GENETIC POINT OF VIEW	609
Applications of the Genetic Method	609
The Significance of the Genetic Method	611
Genetic Studies	612
Special Studies of Children	614
Genetic Studies of Emotion	614
Negativism	616
Development of the Will	616
Early Stages of Social Development	617
Development of Human Impulses	618
Genetic Sequence of Motives	620

The Danger of Error	620
Genetic Methods in Education	622
The Genetic Method in Various Subjects	624
Language	624
Reading	624
Writing	624
Music	625
Drawing	625
Arithmetic	625
Morals	628
The Genetic Method in Psychology	629
The Idea of Cause	629
Children as Philosophers	630
Changing Ideas of Cause	632
The Phenomenistic Stage	633
The Dynamism Explanation	635
The Stage of Mechanical Explanation	635
Twofold Verification	637
The Personal Equation	637
Statistical Psychology	639
Genetic Sequence in Psychiatry	640
Hygiene and Mental Disorder	641
Creators or Robots	643
Integration at Higher Levels	645
Absolutism	645
Integration and Dissociation	646
Levels of Integration	647
Genetic Stages	649
The Mental Hygiene Point of View	650
Summary	651
XVIII CONCLUSION	656
The Study of Personality	656
The Social Aspect of Personality	656
Marbe's View of Personality	657
Methods of Hygiene	658
The Interpretation of Behavior	659
Hygiene and Psychiatry	659
Our Meager Knowledge of Personality	660
The Value of Personality Study	661
The Interest in Personality	662
Tests of Egoism	663
Interest and Prevision	665
Special Discoveries	665
The Teacher's Study	666
The Wider Scope of Mental Hygiene	668
The Influence of Mental Hygiene	668
Mental Hygiene and Jurisprudence	669
The Task in Industry	670
Hygiene of the Individual	673
Personality as the Great Gift	674

Self-Respect	675
The Health Value of Self-Respect	675
Conditions Favorable to Personality	676
The Wide Significance of the Wholesome Personality	679
The Healthful Social Group	679
Fundamental Tendencies	680
Growth	681
Learning	681
Integration	682
Emergent Evolution	683
Summary	684
INDEX	697

THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

ence of it even in cases of serious brain injuries. On the basis of recent investigations Lashley¹⁵* says:

In working with animals and with human patients I have been more and more impressed by the absence of the chaotic behavior which we might expect from the extent and irregular form of the lesions. [p. 19.]

This unity of action seems to be more deeply rooted than even the structural organization. . . . There may be great losses of sensory or of motor capacities, amnesias, emotional deterioration, dementia—but the residual behavior is still carried out in an orderly fashion. It may be grotesque, a caricature of normal behavior, but it is not unorganized. [p. 19.]

Thus both in animals and man, in the normal and the diseased, in the development of childhood and in the deterioration of old age, the integration of function appears. This fact, shown by experimental studies and by psychological observation, lies at the heart of mental hygiene and may well be made the starting point for personality studies. A general statement and a few examples of recent investigations will illustrate the background of personality.

Although the nature of this integration, which is a fundamental conception in mental hygiene, we do not adequately know, a vitally significant light is thrown upon it by the recent studies of the brain, especially those by Lasbley.

Lashley's Studies.—For many years Lashley has studied the brains of rats with remarkable success. Since it is now generally believed that the results of such studies apply substantially to the human brain, the outcome of these investigations is of the first importance,

* These superior figures refer to the numbered bibliography at the end of each chapter.

tive masses and spacial arrangements of gross parts, of equilibrium among the parts, of direction and steepness of gradients, and of the sensitization of final common paths to patterns of excitation. And the organization must be conceived as a sort of relational framework into which all sorts of specific reactions may fit spontaneously, as the cells of the polyp fit into the general scheme of development. [p. 23.]

Such is the nucleus of fact, from the point of view of the studies of the central nervous system, for beginning the study of human personality. The criticism, of course, will be made that this is all vague and indefinite. This is true. It is also true that all our general knowledge of personality is vague and indefinite, but in the words of Lasbley, whose remarkable scientific investigations give the evidence for this nucleus, "It is better to be vague than to be wrong."

From the outset it should be kept in mind that the wholesome personality is an integration of both mind and body. On the mental side this is most clearly illustrated by attention, especially where there is concentration in purposive activity; on the physical side, by the functioning of the nervous system, as Sherrington has shown in his masterly book *The Integrative Action of the Nervous System*.²⁰ It is illustrated also in the other systems of the body, remarkably in the blood and the circulation, which, with the endocrine glands and the digestive system, has a fundamental part in conditioning the background of personality. The vital stream with its marvelous oxygen carrier, the hemoglobin, which, as Barcroft * has shown, alone makes possible the development and functioning of an organism larger than a lobster, has also apparently an essential rôle in conditioning personality differences both racial and individual. Racial

differences in disposition, correlated with differences in the constitution of the blood elements, have in part been charted by Furukawa in his remarkable recent study.¹⁰

In the not distant future the time perhaps will come when the physical correlatives of individual differences in personality may be determined by physical tests, not only of structure, the characteristics of the nervous system, and the functioning of the endocrine glands, but also of the characteristics of the blood, the lymphoid system, and the differences in digestion and metabolism. For the present, however, we must confine ourselves largely to general consideration and crude description of the obvious factors that in part condition the outstanding mental differences.

Apparently all the various structures and factors play their part, and we can only consider, as the conditions of personality, the sum total of all the characteristics and functions, physical and mental, of the psychophysical organism.

Any attempt to make rigorous distinctions between the mental and the physical and to give detailed and differentiated classification of characteristics, with our present knowledge, is bound to be misleading and in part erroneous. Only after many experimental studies like those of Gesell¹¹ and Kretschmer,¹² on the one hand, and Buseman⁷ and Maria Zillig¹³ on the other, can we hope for more detailed accounts of human personality.

Amid all the theories and speculations about this greatest of all riddles, as Smuts²¹ calls it, in one thing there seems to be a general consensus. Practically all agree that the mark of health is integration. Concrete illustration of the wholesome integrated personality, its significance, its scope, the means of its development, the wide

range of individual variation, as well as disintegrating conditions, and the possibility of integration at higher and higher levels—of all this something will be said in later chapters. Here, however, it may be well at the outset to call attention to certain wider relations.

The Higher Significance of Integration.—In recent years two philosophical writers especially have emphasized the significance of the concept of integration, Professor Dewey in an address,⁹ and General Smuts in his book on *Holism and Evolution*.²¹ In psychiatry years ago, Adolph Meyer did the same. And in hygiene Gesell emphasizes the unity of mind and body.

Dewey reminds us of the time when the arts, science, and philosophy were closely connected. The conspicuous trait of this period was the sense of wholeness. Every problem of mind as against body to-day illustrates the disastrous effects of the divisions that have since grown up.

Dewey⁹ takes for granted the unity of mind and body and uses such phrases as "wholeness of operation," "unity in action," and the like. The facts testify, not to an influence existing "between two separate things, but to a behavior so integrated that it is artificial to split it up into two things." But the traditional division is so deep-seated that we have no word to name body and mind in an integrated wholeness of operation.

The conception of behavior in its integrity, as including a history and environment, is the alternative to a theory that eliminates the mental because it considers only the behavior of the mechanism of action, as well as the theory that thinks it ennobles the mental by placing it in an isolated realm. [p. 15.]

On all sides, Dewey maintains, the artificiality of isolating mind and body is beginning to be seen. Knowl-

edge and action, theory and practice, should be united, and even environment should not be divorced from behavior. In education especially is an important need of such an integration. The physician and educator alike should know the life history of symptom or habit with which he deals. Thus the question of the integration of mind and body in action is the most practical of all questions.

In a similar manner Smuts²¹ has emphasized this conception, and in developing his philosophy of wholes, has presented a conception of personality as the highest form of integration. To him it is "the most real of all reals."

Smuts, like Dewey, also laments the artificial distinction between the mental and the physical. Naturally enough personality has been analyzed into mind and body, and in the history of philosophy this division, he maintains, has caused confusion and often bizarre and morbid behavior in practice. But with the coming of science the integration of the factors in personality into one whole, has occurred, with the wholesome attitude that body and mind alike are clean and healthy. It is the severance of body and mind that makes perversion and ignoble use possible.

Smuts realizes that different degrees of integration of the personality are possible; but the aim is the development of a *free personality, which, according to him, represents the highest achievement of which any human being is capable, and to him wholeness and freedom are correlative expressions.* The ideal is attained only when, by personal development, "harmony and internal peace have been secured." The ideal man is not devoid of passions and emotions that war against the higher tendencies:

but they are controlled, and the discords of ethical life are composed because there is a harmonious correlation of higher and lower.

From the study of pathological cases the unity of the bealthful personality is equally emphasized. The abnormal is characterized by dissociation, confusion, disintegration. For example, Stekel has pictured in clear and picturesque language the difference between the integrated and the disintegrated personality, and describes a whole man in contrast with a half man, as he calls the disintegrated individual. The former wins success and the applause of his contemporaries, for example, a Nansen, a Blériot, an Amundsen. Every one of us is amazed and admires the phenomenon of a great will that guides one directly toward his goal. The disease of our time, according to Stekel, is not neurasthenia or psychasthenia or hysteria, or the like, but weakness of the will; and all the sorrow and tragedy of our time may be included under one term, the half man in its widest sense. Wernicke first perhaps gave such cases of dissociation of the personality. These vary in character, but always a part ego is apparent.

Thus the one thing that stands out as of first importance hygienically is the fact that the personality is integrated in the healthful individual. The personality is a whole, a unit, in those in whom the development has been normal. In those in whom disintegration has prevented normal development, the so-called personality may be a collection of conflicting attitudes. This fundamental conception of psychiatry and of mental hygiene, although technical, is most familiar. Every intelligent person is acquainted with examples in everyday life of the abnormal as well as the normal, ranging from the

rattled baseball player and the school girl whose memory breaks up before the ordeal of examination, to the business man who loses his grip, and to the divided personality of the victim of schizophrenia.

Personality Tests.—During the last ten years tests of personality, character, and mental traits have largely taken the place of the older tests of intelligence. A great number of such tests of personality, especially in relation to behavior, have been made. The result has been valuable in placing emphasis on the need of studying the total characteristics and responses of the individual, both physical and mental. But the concrete facts obtained by these studies have been limited, and their general meaning has usually been rather vague and uncertain. They still leave the deeper significance of personality traits indefinite.

Among the characteristics to which special study has been given are the following: aggressiveness, caution, conformity, honesty, incorrigibility, originality, perseverance, social perception, social resistance, studiousness, and trustworthiness; and among emotional characteristics, instinct, mood and temperament, such as cheerfulness and depression, optimism and pessimism, effects of encouragement and discouragement on mental work, and of praise and reproof; such attitudes have been tested as fair-mindedness, international-mindedness, open-mindedness, public spirit, liberal attitudes, sociability and the like. Tests also requiring the rating of different situations, tests of religious ideas, of ethical discrimination, of moral and religious values, and still further tests requiring responses to imagined situations have been made. Such are a few illustrations of characteristics of personality already tested.

Results of these many investigations and of the special tests of personnel for determining fitness for positions in business and in the civil service or the like, have often been of great value for the special practical objectives of such studies; but the whole subject of personality traits in relation to behavior is still left largely unknown. Although our knowledge of personality in relation to conduct was vague and general to begin with, the result of extended investigation for the most part has been to replace this with a general knowledge of a score of traits and attitudes. All this work, however, has been an important beginning in the study of what all recognize as the most important thing in the world; it has to a large extent substituted an intelligent ignorance for what before was largely the conceit of knowledge, and it has made clearer what constitutes the background of personality.

Of course much the same criticism can be brought against the studies of personality as have been made of the tests of intelligence and the like. We do not know just what we are measuring. We do not know what capacity it is that enables pupils to give the correct answer to the questions asked; we do not even know adequately what traits of personality certain forms of behavior tested indicate. Human personality is so complex that with our present knowledge the tests are bound to give inadequate data.¹⁷ In spite of all this, the studies of the whole personality do give results, however crude, that are valuable for mental hygiene and education. On the other hand, all this investigation of personality has been aided by mental hygiene, which has not only contributed examples of different traits that have shown normal characteristics in large letters, but also has made

clear both the vast complexity and the natural simplicity of human personality.

Zoepffel's Study.—In all personality studies, observational, biographical and experimental, individual differences appear, both in the background and in the different traits of personality. How far these are acquired and how far innate, we do not know. Recent studies, however, notably those by Zoepffel,²⁷ show that they appear at an early age.

The investigation by Zoepffel illustrates this evidence and is significant as one of the newer experimental studies of personality which are bringing us to close quarters with concrete aspects of our subject. This investigation of personality in infancy was made under the general direction of Marbe of Würzburg. Twenty babies in the first year of life were the subjects of the study. The method was simple. It consisted in giving each of these infants certain stimuli and noting the responses, especially the constancy, promptness, and liveliness of the response, in laughing or crying. These infants were tested while lying in their own beds, and care was taken to make as little change as possible in their customary surroundings.

The stimuli were substantially as follows: for visual stimuli the moving of a gold watch back and forth before the eyes of the child; for acoustic stimuli a tune played on the mouth harmonica, and the human voice in praise and blame, the experimenter saying, on the one hand, "Shame on you. Now will you behave and be a good child?", on the other hand, "You are a nice beautiful child, we like such children"; for touch stimuli pricking and stroking parts of the body; for taste stimuli the use of simple sweets and salt solutions.

The responses to these stimuli were most carefully studied and the results summarized, making a psychograph for each child. The especially striking result appeared, that even at this early age marked individual differences occurred, showing some children as slow, phlegmatic, dull, others as quick, amiable, responding with distinct pleasure to the different stimuli, or with clear evidences of discomfort, crying, or the like. These responses were sufficiently constant to indicate personality traits.

Since at this early age the child's environment has had but a short influence, the results are the more significant, showing that the background of personality at least clearly appears in these early months of life. Again at this age few if any defense mechanisms and masks are likely to appear.

The advocates of nature will not fail to note the short period during which Zoepffel's babies could be influenced by their environment. The champions of nurture, on the other hand, may point to the great influence of surroundings and training during the first months of life. This controversy, however, does not concern us here.

This investigation has great importance as a pioneer study and illustrates a method that can be used in definitely determining personality differences in young children, a method likely to prove of great value because of its definiteness, simplicity and the possibility it gives of controlling conditions carefully. Similar studies should be made of children in later years, and the careful technique and thoroughness of this investigation make it a helpful model.

Certain conditions in the environment have clearly a special influence in conditioning the personality. A few of these may be mentioned.

Diet as a Condition of Personality.—That man takes his temper from his dinner is proverbial. In a deeper but more indirect sense this seems to be equally true. Just as personality is undoubtedly conditioned largely by the hemoglobin and other constituents of the blood, especially by the hormones from the endocrine glands, so personality is likewise largely conditioned indirectly by the food and its vitamins. The facts in regard to all this are meager, but important studies promise significant results. That one's food is an important factor in influencing personality is made probable by recent studies of animals. McCollum, for example, has found that white rats by a proper diet are made docile and amiable; and on the other hand by a given diet of another kind, fierce and violent, even to the extent that they will commit infanticide.* Studies of diabetic patients also have shown that a variety of personality changes are conditioned by a greater or less degree of sugar in the blood.

It is perhaps equally true that variations in other contents of the food and water, the mineral salts taken, chloride of sodium, chloride of potassium, and chloride of calcium, likewise condition personality. Besides diet, climate, social conditions, and the like, have an important influence.

In general, the prime factors are, of course, heredity and environment, the former determining innate structure and the limitations of individual potentialities, the latter determining the conditions of development within the limits of inheritance. No attempt will be made, however, even to strike the balance between these two

* In a personal letter to the writer, Dr. McCollum writes: "The diets on which rats become highly irritable are those containing high phosphorus and low calcium."

fundamental forces, but the reader may be referred to two of the best statements of the relations between them, one by Carmichael,⁸ and the other by Gesell.¹¹ Both these writers, as I understand them, find a real interdependence between maturation and environmental learning. In the words of Carmichael, "In all maturation there is learning: in all learning there is hereditary maturation." (p. 260.) Gesell supports this position by evidence from his study of twins.¹² The subject of eugenics, which has to do with the conditions of being well-born, is of the utmost importance for health, but that is another story that cannot be told here. We are concerned with conditions in the environment that determine healthful development within the limits of heredity.

In other words, the general conditions of human personality are race, climate, food, and, on the basis of these, the psychophysical type and the individual responses to environment. But even a detailed account of these in the production of personality would be out of place here. Only a few things need be mentioned concretely.

Responses to Environment.—Among the first things shown by the infant are the fundamental responses to the biologically adequate stimuli of its environment. If given freedom, it responds spontaneously to the situations in which it finds itself, makes its own contacts and its own adjustments, learning in its practical behavior the laws of possibility and impossibility, and acquiring the responses that make up coördinated neuromuscular activity, the fundamental responses of the digestive apparatus, of the organs of secretion and excretion, the responses of the heart, the lungs, and other vital organs, and fundamental reflexes as responses to the sensory stimuli that affect it from the receptor organs.

Conditioned Responses.—Animal or child responds to relatively simple stimuli, but other stimuli are associated with the fundamental or biologically adequate stimuli; and the same responses may occur to these associated stimuli, or, in technical terms, be conditioned by them. Thus it comes to pass that with any stimulus from a receptor organ other stimuli may become associated, and the child acquires responses to innumerable of these associated new stimuli, or groups of stimuli, new situations as we call them. The child naturally is afraid of the noise of thunder; it learns to fear lightning because it is associated with thunder. It likes sweet bonbons; it learns to respond to the cup or dish used to carry bonbons.

The great extent to which conditioned reflexes and associations make up the background of an individual's personality may well be carefully studied.* It illustrates one of the ways in which personality is developed on the basis of what is inherited. Not only are reflexes and habits acquired in the early years of life from the child's environment—habits of coördination, tactile habits, visual habits, habits of hearing, speech, and the rest; but, as the individual grows older, conditioned reflexes connected with one's habitual surroundings and one's daily activities are acquired. For the child, the workman, the skilled laborer, and the business man alike, such conditioned responses are developed, although the conditioned stimuli vary with different occupations and different situations.

The physical basis of such conditioned responses, it may well be noted parenthetically, need not be looked upon as localized and restricted to definite conduction paths of conditioned reflex arcs through the cerebral cor-

* An extended account of conditioned reflexes has been given by the author in *The Normal Mind* (Appleton, 1914).

tex, for the evidence from the recent studies indicates rather that large masses of nervous tissue are involved. The pitfalls connected with the doctrine of conditioned reflexes may be largely avoided by keeping in mind that the stimulus phase of the reflex arc is the one primarily involved.

This development of acquired responses goes on not only through the long period of childhood, but continues during the practical training of adolescent and mature education. Commonplace examples are the most instructive. Take as a single illustration the ordinary business man. Besides his clothing as stimuli to conditioned responses, he usually carries with him a number of minor tools that have become essential for his daily activity, probably one or two pairs of glasses, pen, pencil, pocket-book, knife, keys, and so on; and in case of some individuals, a number of other things, scissors, eraser, cigarette case, cigar lighter, and the like. Each one of these may become a stimulus to a conditioned response; and if any one is missing, some individuals feel lost, and the day is utterly ruined. In some instances special habits have become the occasion of conditioned stimuli. To some, for example, smoking seems to be the occasion of a group of conditioned reflexes adjuvant or inhibitory. In much the same way any habit may become the occasion of such stimuli.

Associated Ideas.—By a similar process of integration association occurs at a higher level; and in the mental field images and ideas become associated, in accordance with the law of the association of ideas, the fundamental law of education in its higher form—a law, as Zanotti and Hume pointed out, as basic in the mental world as the law of gravitation in the physical world. With what-

ever situations observed by the child, whatever perceptions acquired, whatever images formed in the mind, other presentations and other ideas simultaneously present may be associated; and not only with the ideas acquired in objective experience, but in the repeated memories of the individual in relation to the ego complex, multitudes of associations are acquired, and thus a vital development of primitive personality is achieved.

Emotions.—Among the native endowments of the child the responses to a few forms of stimulation are so intense that they are called emotions. The primitive emotions, however, seem to be few. Thus far only three seem to be demonstrated by satisfactory experimental evidence, the emotions of love, fear, and rage. These three emotional responses are caused by biologically adequate stimuli—love in primitive form, by physical contact; fear, by violent change of stimulation, for example, loud noises or sudden removal of physical support or the like; rage, by limitation of free muscular response, for example, when a child is held tightly by the arms and shoulders. The responses to these biologically adequate stimuli vary with different children, but are important in forming the foundation of the individual personality.

Conditioned Emotions.—By the same law of integration and association, whatever stimuli become repeatedly associated with the biologically adequate stimuli may produce the same emotions. In other words, the same reactions are produced by the associated stimuli, or conditioned by them. Thus we may have either fear, love, or rage in response to quite indifferent stimuli. Watson's boy,²² fearless at first, became afraid of a guinea pig because every time it was shown to him a

loud noise was made. Thus thousands of children and adults are grotesquely afraid of harmless things because associated at some time or another with natural stimuli to fear.

When we consider that these responses to biologically adequate stimuli and to associated stimuli of whatever kind may occur, for all we know, in connection with all the essential functions of the human organism, the vegetative and nutritive functions, the functions of circulation and respiration, of digestion, secretion, assimilation, and all the rest; and conditioned or associated responses may be developed also in connection with all the situations and stimuli involved in these functions; and that the same is true in the neuromuscular activities as well as glandular secretions and emotional reactions; and again, if we add to all this the experiences of daily life, and consider the integration at higher and higher levels of these impressions of various modalities and these complexes of associated ideas, and the coloring of the whole by emotions, native and acquired, we get some general idea of the processes, nervous, glandular, neuromuscular, ideational, and emotional, that make up the primitive basis of human personality.

Thus beginning with the more direct results of the physical type to which the individual belongs, on the lowest level of reflexes and emotions, unconditioned and unlearned, we have a part of the background of personality. And when we add to this the equally great number of associated attitudes and emotional states, we get largely the foundation on which is built the special education of the individual, in social and moral responses to special situations, and the vitally significant associations with the individual's own task. All this gives us

at least an insight into the complexity of the personal development.

Influence of the Family and Social Environment.—As especially important all the social relations from the different groups to which the individual child belongs have their influence on the personality. This is best illustrated perhaps by the family group. Not only do we have the results of a vast number of clinical observations, but a German student of childhood, Busemann,⁷ has made a beginning by an investigation of the influence of the family group, especially the number of children in the family, upon the school performance of the children. He finds evidence that there is an optimum number of brothers and sisters as regards the effect on school achievement and the like, the family of moderate size, three brothers and sisters, being usually the best. This is merely one concrete illustration of the manifold ways the family group affects the personality of the child, involving, of course, the ability to do school work as well as other kinds of performance.

Whereas personality is largely conditioned by the total social environment, the most significant for the development of the healthful personality seems to be the family group. In any case this offers a fruitful subject for investigation to any who can study it wisely and scientifically.

The importance of the mental processes correlated with the doing of the trivial tasks of daily life can hardly be overemphasized. Thoroughgoing study of these commonplace things may well be made from the point of view of mental hygiene. Henry James, in his subtle analysis of the mental states and attitudes of human beings in their social life, has by no means over-

drawn the complexity of this phase of life; but every man of affairs, every member of a household, in daily activities experiences an equally varied and complex series of mental processes. It is precisely this that is significant in conditioning the development of individual personality, healthful or disordered.

Such is the activity of the organism in its wide scale of processes from the simpler organic reactions to environmental stimuli up to the higher thought processes of the ordinary individual and the man of genius alike. All this may be summed up in brief and simple form.

The organism is bombarded by stimuli of every kind. To these stimuli it responds in various ways; to certain stimuli, as Helmholtz long ago pointed out, it responds by its sense organs, sampling the universe here and there by its special sensory response to vibrations of special rate, and later on, sampling it still further by man's special devices, such as the various scientific implements. To a vast number of other stimuli the organism responds with the subtle and unconscious reactions of metabolism in the breaking down and building up of tissue, which goes on continuously in the normal organism. Conditioned by this metabolism is the activity of daily life, especially muscular coördination and the like, which make up man's behavior. Still further are the less familiar but equally essential and, in the ultimate analysis, probably equally active reactions to stimuli in the process of sleep with its building up activities that prevent exhaustion of the organism. And finally, again, are the habitual responses of the mind to the innumerable situations of daily life and the associated conditions of the inner life of the mind itself; and capping all this, the creative purposive activities of the

person in all processes of initiative and task achievement. All this represents what by analogy at least may be called a mental metabolism, on the character of which depends largely the mental health of the individual.

Thus the background of personality consists of a thousand things, conditioned reflexes, habits, tricks, mannerisms, peculiarities and conventionalities, and the like. The totality of these is vastly significant, and any one of them may assume special importance because of symbolic or associated significance. How important these may become in the development of human personality has been illustrated extensively by Manuel in *Master of My Fate*.¹⁶ This book also, it should be noted, is the first elementary text, so far as I am aware, that applies the new view of the unity of mind and body in one integrated organism to the practical explanation of human behavior. For example, he says:

"We should think of a human individual, not as being composed of one part which carries on physical activity and another very different one which does the thinking, but as being a unit which both thinks and acts." (p. 27.)

The Complexity of Personality.—To give an adequate description of the background of human personality would be to write an encyclopedia of both human physiology and human psychology. Even to give an adequate account of what some deem the most primitive and important part of the basis of personality, that is, the physical basis, especially an account of the influence of the nervous system and of the endocrine organs, would be a task too large for the present volume. To enumerate even the literature relating to the latter, requires in Biedl's second edition,* published eighteen years ago,

257 pages; and Barker's great work on *Endocrinology and Metabolism*⁴ devotes a whole volume to the bibliography. Since our knowledge in this field, especially of the relation of endocrine function to personality, is relatively small, and since great care must be exercised to avoid unwarranted inferences, those who are interested to study the subject more thoroughly may well take as an introduction some of the more elementary books mentioned in the bibliography and consult the specialists who have contributed to Barker's treatise.

Finally, from the psychological point of view the background of personality is determined by the great human urges or impulses. These are usually referred to as instinctive activities, but reference here is to what is deeper and more generic, the matrix rather from which concrete instinctive activities are differentiated. Such are the impulse to activity appearing in its highest form in creative activity; the egoistic impulses, especially dominant in the early years of life; the social impulses, appearing in their highest form in love, brotherly kindness, altruism, and the like; and the impulse to express emotion, appearing not only in the ordinary well-known ways, but also in the different artistic activities as means of expressing feeling. These great impulses form the background of human personality and color all the varied manifestations of personality in different individuals.

To attempt any account of the different factors that make up human personality is rash in the extreme; and yet in all practical social functions, in all coöperative, industrial, and business occupations, in politics, education, and morals, we refer every day multitudes of times to such factors as intelligence, conscientiousness, judg-

ment, egoism, altruism, and the like, in our companions and acquaintances.

The simplest and safest plan perhaps is to adopt some general theory, like that of Spearman²² for example, of not more than two factors, one a factor specific to each separate ability, one a factor general to all abilities; and perhaps one might venture to go still farther and regard each of these two factors as a form of energy underlying all the elements of a personality. A more detailed and more familiar, although looser classification, however, may be more helpful.

Some day we shall probably have a scientific characterology, as Allport² has suggested, that will give an analysis of the different traits of human personality and an account of the conditions of the development of each. Such a science would make possible individual tests of each personality trait, and classification according to the development of each. For this at present no adequate data are available. Many extended scientific investigations of the concrete traits must be made before such a science is possible. The present writer's task is the far simpler one of attempting to show the importance of such studies of personality, and to give a general although necessarily imperfect account of the wholesome personality and the conditions of its development, as we know it, together with some of the practical hygienic suggestions emphasized by these personality studies.

Factors of Personality.—To-day mental faculties are no longer distinguished, but we can speak of the personality as made up of different factors; and although an adequate psychological division of them would hardly be possible and perhaps in any case would be un-

necessary, in mental hygiene a convenient distinction can be made.

Although no two psychologists perhaps would agree in regard to the different factors that make up human personality, besides the ego a dozen characteristics important for the mental health may conveniently be distinguished, somewhat as follows: (1) one's attention; (2) one's emotional tendencies and reactions; (3) one's psychophysical energy or what is perhaps commonly called one's will; (4) one's moral character including one's obedience to organized and traditional authority; (5) one's conscience; (6) one's ideals and beliefs; (7) one's knowledge; (8) the mental attitudes; (9) the religious attitudes of dependence, reverence, and the like; (10) one's intelligence; (11) one's imagination and memory, especially habits of noting and recall; (12) one's sense of humor; (13) wisdom, including common sense and judgment; (14) the ego.

Several other factors, suggestibility, confidence, and the like, might be distinguished; but these are perhaps sufficiently included in the mental attitudes mentioned. These different factors are not separate from each other, but this rough distinction is readily made and is practically helpful both for education and hygiene. They may be considered individually in a tentative manner, but no one of them should be limited rigorously. Each is flexible and intimately related to others, and even an overlapping and interrelation or interdependence exists.

The development of a normal ego, however, what McDougall calls "a balanced, harmonious development of the sentiment of self regard," or what Taine and others regard as that complex of associations we call

the self, presents the great problem both of mental hygiene and of society, as indicated by Freud and as emphasized by McDougall.

In any case, since of these many factors the ego or self is the central factor, we may well give at the outset a brief survey from the genetic point of view of its development, as it may be observed in everyday life, and note some of its outstanding manifestations as they appear in many children at different periods of the development of the personality.

SUMMARY

Even in this brief preliminary view of our subject a few things are emphasized:

1. Elements or factors partly inherited, partly acquired, combine to make up the background of personality. Hygiene accepts the verdict of most biologists and psychologists that personality is the result of both inheritance and environment. It does not attempt, however, with our present knowledge, to strike the balance between the two.

2. Whatever the elements that make up personality, in the normal individual all are integrated into one whole.

3. In all careful observation and study a wide range of individual difference within the limits of the normal appears. The background of these differences seems to be a difference in the whole personality.

4. Personality is conditioned by many factors—notably by the blood and endocrine system of glands; by the central nervous system and neuromuscular mechanism; and by the acquired physical and mental activity of the individual.

5. Recent studies of the brain put emphasis on the whole rather than upon any special part.

6. Recent studies of grave injury to the brain give evidence of the deep-seated character of the integration of activity. Great loss of capacity may occur, but the residual behavior is orderly.

7. Of general hygienic factors that condition personality, the most important seem to be climate, diet, work, sleep, and the social environment.

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGO

IN all the sciences, as the anthropologist McGee long ago pointed out, in psychology as well as the rest, attention seems to have been given first to unusual and spectacular phenomena, to the defective, prodigies, the insane, only later to the common, the familiar, the normal. In accordance with this general law, it is not strange that the thing most familiar of all, namely the self, should be one of the last things to be studied by the scientific method.

For intelligence we have to some degree a quantitative standard by which we can at least more or less adequately control observation. A man's task, both what he does and how much he does, we can roughly measure. We can make a quantitative test also of a man's energy under certain controlled conditions. But for the human ego, whether with McDougall we classify it as feeling, or whether we call it an association mass, we have no objective measure. Few special studies have been made. Nevertheless, we are always ready to describe an individual's self on the basis of observation or even on the more remote evidence of hearsay. Thus the historians tell us that Andrew Johnson was egotistical, that General Grant was simple and modest; and even on newspaper evidence we do not hesitate to describe Roosevelt as self-confident, Woodrow Wilson as self-sufficient, Coolidge as self-contained, and Senator Borah

as self-assertive. The ego or self is so profoundly significant in human character we simply have to estimate it as best we can. We cannot ignore it.

For the mental health of the individual the ego is as significant as it is for one's moral character, far more important for health than one's intelligence quotient, ranking in hygienic importance with one's attitude toward one's task and with one's emotional life.

Taine's Description.—Everybody knows what is meant by the human ego, but nobody can define it adequately. The French psychologist Taine²⁹ has given the best genetic description of that mass of associated ideas we call the self. This, so far as it goes, presents on the intellectual side the normal development. He has shown how the mass of ideas that represents our own past is formed in the memory. "At every moment," he says, "we look back on a portion. A day never passes without our frequently reverting back and sometimes far back in the chain, sometimes, by means of abbreviatory processes, to events separated from the present moment by many months and many years." *

Taine describes also the way this self-complex is integrated and made permanent. "All this group of true ideas and exact recollections form a singularly solid network." He points out that very strong forces are necessary to tear away from it any portion really belonging to it or to insert in it any portion extrinsic to it. This occurs only in sleep or hypnotism or when a predominant passion perhaps at last substitutes little by little a fictitious web in place of the natural one.

Masterly as this description is, it does not do justice to the complexity of the self taken as a whole, because

* For a more complete citation see *The Normal Mind*, pp. 34-35.

all of these processes of association and of memory, all these mental processes repeated day after day, are by no means merely intellectual, but are for the most part colored with feeling, and many of them warm and vital with human emotion. In many people nothing is so strong a stimulus to emotion as anything related to this self-complex, and thus we have to enlarge the picture of the self by a vast symphony of diverse feelings unified by their relation to this common center of associations that make up our own past and our own selfhood.

EARLY CHILDHOOD

The difficulty of investigating the development of the self is great, and the moment we study the subject the more inadequate our conceptions are likely to appear. A beginning, however, of important study from the genetic point of view has been made by Piaget,²³ a Swiss biologist, who has recently turned his attention to the study of children.

Piaget's Study.—One cannot study the development of a child's ego by a direct method of questioning or the like. Ask a child questions and at once you suggest answers, and very likely suggest an attempt to protect and defend the self, that is, you arouse defense mechanisms, as they are technically called. You can, however, give a child a natural task to perform and then let the child have freedom as he works to ask questions himself. Piaget, in a noteworthy scientific investigation, published under the auspices of the Rousseau Institute at Geneva, has used this device and found important results that bring us to closer quarters with the development of the self in early childhood. The method used by him, a combination of the genetic method and

the clinical method, studying the child's conversation and spontaneous questions scientifically, promises advance in the future, and has already shown apparently different stages of the development of the ego.

Two Levels of Thought.—Between the ages of six and seven, Piaget finds two levels of integration; or, as he expresses it, the child's mind is woven on two different looms, one placed above the other. The most important during the early years is on the lower plane. Here the work done by the child is association around his own wants and what is likely to satisfy them. "It is the plane of subjectivity, of desires, games and whims, of the *Lust Prinzip*," as Freud² would say. In other words, the ego is dominant.

The upper plane is one of objectivity, speech, logical ideas, the plane of reality. This is built up little by little by social environment. If an observer looked down on the mental processes of the child without noticing these two different planes and supposed the activity to take place on one plane, he would get the impression of extreme confusion. Each of these planes has a logic of its own. That of the child is autistic thinking, that of the adult logical thought processes. The perspective given by this genetic point of view greatly facilitates the interpretation of the child's mental activity.

The Child's Thought Autistic.—The center of integration in the child is his own self, and this egocentrism is "obedient to the self's good pleasure and not to the dictates of impersonal life." It is closely connected with the child's incapacity for true causal explanation. This also gives rise, according to Piaget, to the tendency in children "to justify things at any price or to connect everything with everything else."

The child seems to be egocentric in his thinking up to the age of seven or eight. His own desires are dominant. Meumann and Stern also found that the earliest substantives in child language are those expressing commands and desires.

Mere Words Not Understood.—Piaget's study¹³ indicates also that the effort to understand other people and communicate one's thought objectively does not appear in children before the age of seven or seven and one-half. They understand in acted conversation, in games, occupations and the like, not in merely spoken conversation.

When young children forget, they fill in the gaps by inventing in good faith; but according to Piaget, in the younger children, it was not because they were romancing that they failed to understand each other in his experiments. On the contrary his conclusion is that "It is because he is egocentric and feels no desire either to communicate with others or to understand them that the child is able to invent as the spirit moves him and to make so light of the objectivity of his utterances." (p. 126.)

All Children Apparently Egoistic.—Although this was an individual, not a mass study, and although no similar studies, so far as I am aware, have been made of American children, we may at least tentatively assume that essentially the same is true of the mental development of children generally, that in mental processes the child is egocentric for the first seven or eight years of life.

By a method like that used by Piaget it is possible to study a child's thinking. Furthermore one can observe the behavior of children and their emotional responses. In this way the outstanding phases of self-

development can be studied and abnormal symptoms that are likely to appear.

The Normal Self.—What we loosely call the normal self seems to be so rare that it can hardly be described except by contrast with the abnormal. The best I can do is to describe some aspects of the development of some children; and the reader will bear in mind that the hygienist, like the physician, has to speak bluntly.

Normal development of the self consists in outgrowing injurious childish attitudes, impulses, and the like. In a classic passage St. Paul expressed the test of maturity in substance as the psychiatrists do to-day: "When I was a child I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things." (I Corinthians, 13; 11.)

Normal Maturity.—That is precisely what normal maturity means, the putting aside of the distinctively infantile and childish attitudes and impulses. As a matter of fact, however, so few people really grow up, and most of us have still so many survivals from childhood, that we can all understand Sir Arthur Helps when he says that "we are at the center of our own thoughts and at the circumference of other people's." And every one of us is at times humiliated by the petty childish jealousies or the prejudices he finds in his companions, or, still worse, in himself. It is noteworthy that all of us seem a little ashamed of possessing an ego. We camouflage it; we apologize for speaking about ourselves, we avoid if we can the use of the pronoun I. And without denying that we do have an ego, we try to make it appear that it is only a little one.

The Child's Performance.—The amazing acquisitions of the child in the first two or three years of life have

been shown by Miss Shinn,^{26 27} Koffka,¹⁷ Gesell,¹⁰ and others. But the growth of the child's ego in relation to development has not received special attention. Let us glance at what seem to be common aspects of its growth in the child and youth on the emotional side, where abnormal developments are more dangerous.

The child is born into an environment governed by nature's iron laws. Even in the cradle the child receives lessons in the laws of possibility and impossibility; and when he leaves it and starts on a voyage of discovery in the nursery and perhaps the living room he finds that he can do marvelous things with toys and light furniture, but when he pounds the floor it does not yield, and when he tries to crawl through the wall of the house it does not budge. Nature's first lessons are inexorable and hence soon learned. Thus the fascinating world of effort and accomplishment divides into the two hemispheres of possibility and impossibility; and the baby soon learns not to waste energy on the latter.

The Child and Adults.—Soon another discovery is made, namely, that what the baby may vaguely regard as the gods above, that is, human adults, have the power to do many things impossible to him. Thus it comes to pass that when he desires the impossible he appeals to the gods and often is able to utilize their power and to accomplish the impossible. But he finds that in regard to some things the gods themselves can not or will not grant their aid. Then like primitive peoples in their petitions, he cries aloud and tears himself, and then makes another great discovery; adults sometimes relent, their greater power becomes available and the impossible is again accomplished. Thereafter, since more can

Even after he goes to school he by no means forgets the great defense of illness. And sometimes in special stress he finds that this makes it possible to stay at home when he does not wish to attend the school. It usually works admirably with teachers, and for a neglected lesson no other defense is so good. It serves also to attract attention to the dear ego. The only trouble is that from illness the child soon recovers.

Many, however, soon discover they usually have a toothache, or headache, or stomach ache, if they stop to think about it, and that the pain grows worse the longer they think about it; and further, in case of special need an acute illness can be developed, indigestion or the like; or in an emergency, hysterical activity, tantrums of some kind, or even perhaps a minor form of epilepsy. That this is no fancied picture is shown by many clinical experiences.

Clinical Cases.—Placed in what seems to the child an intolerable situation, sometimes a serious mental disorder is the defense for the child, hysteria or even perhaps an incipient form of epilepsy. Parents and teachers in such cases are apt to aggravate the trouble by giving special attention to the child, often precisely the thing for which this defense mechanism was devised. Recently a case of this kind was reported to me.* The school doctor paid no attention to the boy in his attacks; others called attention to him. "Do you have these spells when you are fighting?" asked the doctor. "Not unless the other fellow is getting the best of me," replied the boy. Clearly a defense mechanism!

Vanity Normal in Infancy.—Vanity and conceit at this period, it may be said, are natural and normal.

* For this case I am indebted to Ellen Maher.

Self-love craves the admiration of others. This is well illustrated even in the animal world, especially in dogs, cats, and some other domestic animals; the cat, for example, that basks in the fondling of its mistress, and the dog that never tires of his master's praise and repeats his stunts with unconcealed vanity for the admiration of onlookers.

Thus self-love in children always craves admiration. Everything is important in relation to self. The extreme of self-love is Narcissism, the pathological form of self-love distinguished by the psychiatrists. As Stekel²⁸ has said in substance: "Self-love always needs the recognition of one's fellows, we wish to be admired by others, but only in order that we may admire ourselves so much the more." The first period of life is a time of boundless self-love. The child is absolutely egoistical and loves only those who do his will. His phantasy steals enormous riches for him and creates infinite possibilities in which he is always the master.

"This overestimate of the ego is increased without measure by the blind adoration of parents. The child hears a thousand times how beautiful, how dear, how sweet, how charming, how entrancing he is."

The Significance of Home Behavior.—If one would observe and study the personality development of children, one should study their behavior in the spontaneous activities in the home, especially in play, in relation to food and the other needs of everyday life. Such activities are the protocol of personality development.

For example, as Blatz and Bott² have rightly pointed out, the child's rejection of food and the difficulties connected with feeding are far more serious in relation to the mental attitudes causing them than any effect of

the abstinence of food is likely to be. The personality factors involved in food problems are the serious things to be considered. Why the child demands special attention by making a fuss over his food, or by other forms of negativism, is the question demanding special study.

"In such cases," they say, "the question to ask is always, Why does the child want attention? Is he jealous of some other child? Is he habitually passed over and made to feel inferior? His demand may be perfectly legitimate, although the occasion and his methods are unfitting. Understanding the nature of the difficulty in such cases generally points the way to a solution." (p. 60.)

The Development of Skepticism.—Such is the early development of the ego. After a child has reached that stage where he can get the impossible by the vocal method of crying, and perhaps become the center of attention at mealtime, he meets certain obstacles to further development and certain disintegrating conditions. Adults, as we have seen, are not always amiable toward his demands. Sometimes they assert their own will, and conditions are distinctly unfavorable. The child is blocked in his efforts and the gods attempt to make him do things against his own desires. Conflict between his own ego and the adults around him develops, he finds his own personality threatened by hostile forces, doubt of the omnipotence and omniscience of his parents may arise. Piaget²³ found that about at the end of his seventh year the child he studied had ceased to have faith in this omniscience. He asks, for example, "Then do grown up people make mistakes also?" "Daddy can't know everything either, nor me neither." (p. 215.)

At the close of this first period, say at the age of seven

or eight, the child is egocentric in his thinking and spontaneous behavior; a large degree of vanity and self-love is natural. In fact, this is likely to be the condition when a child comes to the door of the schoolhouse and during the whole kindergarten and first grade period. The grave danger is of over-development of the ego. This is apt to come from spoiling by parents. Special opportunity and special temptation to this come in connection with the essentials vital to the self, such as food and the like. No wonder intelligent parents often feel helpless, but when we do not know what to do, the supreme rule of hygiene is to let children alone as much as possible.

LATER CHILDHOOD

With the shattering of the child's world already begun by skepticism in regard to his parents and perhaps by growing antagonism toward adults, and with the larger social environment of the school and the playground, a new phase of development begins.

During the next period, that from seven or eight to puberty, in the child's questions social development is begun, and this little by little modifies the child's subjective egocentric thinking to objective and later logical thinking. Other social relations develop; but while egocentric thinking is checked, the ego still asserts itself in relation to others.

The importance of this period for mental hygiene is liable to be neglected. While not as spectacular as the early years of childhood or as the later years of youth, like every other period it is of prime significance for the *development of the personality*. It is not, of course, sharply divided off. Violent outbreaks of the egoism of the earlier period often appear; and on the other hand.

vague anticipations of strange alluring and sometimes alarming emotional experiences occur; but in general it is a time of relatively retarded rate of growth and development, of orderly associations, and of gradually increasing logical thinking. It seems to be normally a time when elementary processes are organized, a time for repetition, drill, routine, for making essential habits of health and education automatic; in a word, for making habitual the alphabets of learning, of health, and of morals; a time when objective thinking gradually takes the place of the autistic thinking of the earlier period; especially a time when the background and essential elements of the wholesome personality that form the essential basis of the individual's sanity are acquired. As one phase of this healthful development, what may be called a normal attitude toward repetition and the everyday routine of life should now be acquired.

For this period we have no adequate studies, but observation of the behavior of children and their emotional responses throws much light on the development of the ego, and certain outstanding phases of self-development can be studied.

Self-Defense.—Frequently outbursts of self-assertion and self-defense occur during this early period. This may be illustrated by a single example given in the *Monthly Bulletin*¹⁹ of the Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene. The case is described in substance as follows:

Mrs. Brown took her daughter Mary, a shy girl of seven, to call on her cousins, big superior girls in their teens. Mary's ego had been highly developed, for she was the center of all things at home and the apple of her father's eye. At her cousins' she felt small and insignificant; they were gifted and proper, and could dance, play the piano, and draw. Mary had

no accomplishments. The big girls showed Mary what they could do and their presents; each had a beautiful desk chair for Christmas. Mary's ego demanded protection. She was impelled to do something; she knew not why, but quick as a flash she took the big scissors lying close at hand and scratched the chairs all over, doing a thorough job. Then she felt awe-stricken but decidedly better, for she had defended her sensitive ego.

Mary's mother did not hear of this until a year later. Then she took her daughter aside for a grave talk. She told Mary she must be insane or possessed of the devil, at any rate very naughty. Neither Mary nor her mother understood the meaning of this outburst.

From her mother's talk Mary felt very wicked indeed and had perhaps the morbid thought that she herself might be peculiar, but she had no idea why she had done all this.

As the *Bulletin* suggests, of course this outburst was a natural protest of Mary's poor little self; she hated the other girls because they were big and talented and she was small and mediocre. At this period when she was normally egocentric and with an ego overstimulated by her parents, something must be done to protect herself; she could not scratch the girls but she could mutilate their chairs. Incidentally, we may note that mental hygiene would treat Mary very differently. Instead of terrifying the child and making her feel naughty, it would regard this behavior as a natural bit of self-assertion, and attempt to improve her home conditions and develop a new attitude in the girl.

Such violent behavior is by no means the only expression of the overgrown ego; even more serious perhaps is the opposite form of expression, what is commonly called the unsocial personality. The child that con-

tinually fails, the child who never has opportunity for concrete accomplishment and definite success, the child with a hypersensitive ego, whether with sense of inferiority or of superiority, is liable gradually to withdraw from others, become unsocial, extremely individualistic, and finally it may be antisocial, an extreme example of the so-called shut-in personality.

The Habit of Blame.—At an early age also the ego asserts itself by blaming people. One may pick up illustrations almost anywhere. Recently not far from my office children were playing on the street. Sonny's hands, muffled in thick mittens, muddled the steering of his velocipede and he tipped over and was hanged against a tree. "You did that!" he exclaimed to an innocent playmate who happened to be near-by.

This is a representative case of a common habit of blaming somebody or something as an excuse for one's own fault, with a sublime disregard for facts. This is natural for children apparently, because they are normally egoistic and the self must be defended. It is unfortunate when it persists in later life.

The overgrowth of the ego at this period often asserts itself also in a desire to control others. The boy wishes to dominate the group, otherwise he will not play. This desire is perhaps equally strong in the girl, but it appears in different ways.

Plenty of other emotional manifestations of the ego appear. Even at the close of this period the child is likely to be still dominantly egocentric. A drastic, revolutionary remedy is needed. The opportunity for this comes with the period of puberty and adolescence.

ADOLESCENCE

There comes a time, as everybody knows, "when the golden gates of childhood are forever passed," and the youth enters upon the new life of adolescence. Among all peoples, civilized and primitive, this period, with its advent marked by the physical changes of puberty and in general coming about a year and a half earlier in girls than in boys, has always been recognized as a focal point in development and marking a new birth, a renaissance of individual personality. In adolescent development normally many things are acquired. Most important of all, perhaps, is the great discovery made by the normal adolescent, the discovery of self. The objective thinking already begun is extended to the self. The youth begins to study himself.

Thoughtful educators have rightly made the imperative aims of the adolescent period self-discovery, self-revelation, opportunity for self-assertion. In those cases where the storm and stress of adolescence does its perfect work, the self takes its natural place in relation to the race and in relation to other phenomena to be studied objectively. The importance of this is enormous, but need not be dwelt upon here. (See Chapters XV and XVI.)

Some criticize such self-study, fearing that it may develop undue introspection. We are concerned here not so much with what should be as with what actually occurs. As a matter of fact, a large number of adolescent boys and girls are bound to make such study of their own accord. Those who do not do this are never safe, but are liable to develop an interest in it at any time. Although it probably is not well to stimulate this or even perhaps attempt to guide it, opportunity for it, at least, may natu-

rally be given. It is sufficient here to note that such study of self is significant for the youth who make it.

The outstanding fault of the adolescent most people will say is conceit. The causes of this vary with different individuals. Probably in most cases, however, the cause is a combination of a survival of childish egoism, combined with the sensitiveness incident to adolescent development and the need of a compensation and defense of the self due to the common feeling of inferiority and inadequacy.

The omniscience of the adolescent, of which we have heard much, is naturally connected with this self-discovery and self-study. More often than we think, perhaps, it is a mere defense mechanism for self-protection in a new condition of instability and confusion, or a natural form of self-assertion. This conceit of knowledge is sometimes worse in the boy than in the girl. Most parents are apt to find it very difficult to adjust to the omniscience of crude and inexperienced youth. Such an adolescent tries to dominate any group of which he is a member, asserting his own opinion with oracular finality. To give examples here is unnecessary.

For all this proverbial omniscience of the adolescent nothing is so helpful as the objective knowledge of self that comes to those youth who succeed in this effort at self-discovery.

The remedial value of self-knowledge appears also more concretely. Often, for example, as soon as an adolescent learns that certain undesirable attitudes are merely survivals of infantile states, the mere insight that they are survivals is quite enough to check them or effect a cure. Some youth, boys and girls alike, at once have the remedy for jealousy, the tendency to blame others,

and envy and covetousness, as soon as they get this genetic point of view and see that their attitude in these respects is arrested at the childish stage. Even trivial tricks and mannerisms are sometimes cured in this way. Thus the father of an adolescent boy who had the persistent habit of picking his nails or the like, remarked to him, "*That's a kid's trick.*" Soon thereafter the habit disappeared.

Adolescence, however, looks not at the past but rather anticipates the future. Many youth probably will anticipate maturity by finding themselves in the discovery of some one thing that they can do well in which a permanent interest is developed.

Normal Self-Regard.—Since a child is normally ego-centric for the first six or seven years, the danger of overdevelopment of the ego is great; and to a large extent this hypertrophy often continues throughout adolescence and the whole of life. Of course there is another side to all this. Egoism and self-conceit may not be the worst things in the world. Quite as bad is self-depreciation. Shakespeare long ago made one of his characters exclaim, "Self-love, my liege, is not so vile a sin as self-neglecting."

What is desirable is that the child's integration at a low level, with normal development should give place at adolescence to the higher integration about a task significant both for the individual and for the social group, together with the development of a normal self-regard.

MATURITY

In studying the genetic sequence of human development we naturally place maturity next as marking its completion. Just as growth, the development of physical

structure, the acquisition of adult functions, are looked upon as indicating the attainment of manhood and womanhood, so we are wont to assume a completed stage of development as representing maturity of the personality. As a matter of fact, however, we find usually that nothing of this kind occurs.

St. Paul and the modern psychiatrists, as we have noted, have represented the mature man as one who is free from childish attitudes. This is so uncommon, however, that one might mention survivals from childhood common among most men and women; and a wise prudence might well leave the account there.

A negative description, however, is never complete. This one is peculiarly unsatisfactory, since so few men and women have ever attained to this standard. For myself, I have never yet found one who quite measures up to it by St. Paul's test.

Attempts have been made to give a positive description of maturity. Besides the results of all the investigations of personality traits, may well be recalled the description of a gentleman by William James,¹⁴ the series of mental tests suggested by G. Stanley Hall,¹² and Kipling's "If." All give certain characteristics of the full-grown man. Please recall with me Kipling's description: ¹⁶ *

If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;
If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you,
But make allowance for their doubting too;
If you can wait and not be tired by waiting,
Or being lied about, don't deal in lies,
Or being hated don't give way to hating,
And yet don't look too good, nor talk too wise: . . .

* Copyright 1910, by Rudyard Kipling. Reprinted by permission of the author and Doubleday, Doran & Co., publishers.

And so he goes on with the characteristics of self-control and self-reliance. Kipling adds also the active virtue of attention to the present situation in significant doing:

If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,
And—what is more—you'll be a Man, my son!

In an attempt to make a similar picture for the maturity of girls, Miss Otis¹⁸ has added a few special characteristics in her "An 'If' for Girls":

If you can dress to make yourself attractive,
Yet not make puffs and curls your chief delight;
If you can swim and row, be strong and active,
But of the gentler graces lose not sight;
If you can dance without a crave for dancing,
Play without giving play too strong a hold,
Enjoy the love of friends without romancing,
Care for the weak, the friendless, and the old;
If you can master French and Greek and Latin,
And not acquire a priggish mien;
If you can feel the touch of silk and satin
Without despising calico and jean;
If you can ply a saw and hammer,
Can do a man's work when the need occurs,
Can sing, when asked, without excuse or stammer,
Can rise above unfriendly snubs and slurs;
If you can make good bread as well as fudges,
Can sew with skill, and have an eye for dust;
If you can be a friend and hold no grudges,
A girl whom all will love because they must;
If sometime you should meet and love another
And make a home with faith and peace enshrined,
And you its soul—a loyal wife and mother,
You'll work out pretty nearly to my mind,

The plan that's been developed through the ages,
And win the best that life can have in store,
You'll be a model for the sages—
A woman whom the world will bow before.

To the picture by Kipling, mental hygiene adds some details. The most important positive aspect of maturity is the finding of oneself by means of a significant task that becomes a permanent interest, perhaps a life work. Mental hygiene shows also that the mature man does at least focus attention on the present situation. This, as he knows, is all he can do well. Only by limiting attention to the present can he maintain the integration of character that is essential, and by long training he has acquired this ability. Again recognizing his own human limitations, he is aware that he makes mistakes; hence without condoning them he makes provision to discount and compensate for them. The mature man also faces difficulties, burns his own smoke, bears his own trials, makes the best of his disabilities, suffers his own pains and illnesses without complaint, and uses none of these as defense mechanisms for duty neglected.

Mental hygiene, however, is by no means a counsel of perfection; and, recognizing that mental conflicts and the persistence of childish attitudes are the common and outstanding defects in otherwise mature individuals, it points out the way many men and women, unable to escape from childish survivals, are able to compensate for their lack of maturity. Thus the scientist carefully discounts his personal emotional equation; the physician gets a colleague to treat those of his patients where emotional reactions are unavoidable, members of his own family, for example; the man of affairs submits problems, where he knows he is prejudiced, to the judgment of an unbiased

person; the saint, like Comenius, distrusts everything relating to self.

SUMMARY

1. Such in brief outline are some of the hygienically significant phases of human development. No attempt has been made here to present concretely the hygiene of personality. Our lack of knowledge is so great, however, that during the mysterious course of development in the early years the supreme rule of hygiene is that when we do not know what should be done we should let children alone, and protect them from their enemies, whether bacterial, insect, or human.

2. The first period up to the age of seven or eight is one in which the ego is dominant. Both the child's behavior and the child's thinking are alike egocentric. It is the child's business to be selfish at this period, just as much as it is to be altruistic later on; and yet with this dominance of the ego there is special danger that it may overdevelop. The conditions of normal development are so complex that children are liable to be spoiled by the best of parents and guides. Thus it appears that those children who are let alone as much as possible and allowed to make their own contacts with a natural environment are likely to be those best protected. Such children are likely to outgrow this dominant egoism. Those that are overstimulated and overcared for are likely to be spoiled, and the patterns of behavior acquired are likely to become permanent. Alfred Adler even maintains that they will never be outgrown. Those children that are trained to obedience in a few things in connection with the natural laws of possibility and impossibility can for the most part be given freedom.

3. The second period is that from seven or eight up to puberty. It is the time when by social contacts objective thinking is normally developed and thus the development of the ego is checked. It is the time too when, with the customary training of the schools, the alphabets of learning, of morals and of health are acquired. The drill of the schools in the repetition of essentials is helpful in establishing elementary habits of health and in forming the essential background for social education and for sanity.

4. The third period, that of puberty and adolescence, is a time of many interests, the development of many activities and the fundamental social attitudes. Of the many objectives in training at this period, especially important for mental hygiene is that of self-discovery. Normally the objective habit of thinking is extended to the self.

5. In the fourth period childish attitudes are outgrown or normal compensation by objective methods acquired, and the positive development of interest in some great task is the most important acquisition.

6. This brief survey illustrates roughly the genetic point of view.

7. The ego, the central factor in the personality, is interrelated with the other factors discussed in the next chapter.

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representing integration, it is, as it will be necessary to point out again and again, the fundamental characteristic of the wholesome personality.

2. *Emotional Tendencies*

Little as is known about the physiology and psychology of emotion, everybody knows that the emotional life of the individual represents the deepest springs of action; and some, like the German psychologist Horwicz, believe that it represents the stimulus and motive power for both thought and action, the deepest and most original function of the human mind, the most primitive of all mental processes. As Horwicz¹⁴ in substance expressed it, feeling is the significant function of the mind, far more important than intelligence; and in his concrete figure of speech, thoughts are merely dried or pickled feelings. Of modern physiological views Kempf's¹⁵ theory of the genetic development of emotion makes it equally fundamental. The autonomic nervous system, the physical basis of emotion according to him, is the earlier and primitive development, far older than the central nervous system. Although this may be true, it does not necessarily follow, however, as Kempf concludes, that the autonomic nervous system is the dominant system. On the contrary, in spite of its later development, the central nervous system seems to be, according to the best evidence we have, the controlling and guiding system at the present time.

The Temperaments.—The so-called temperament of the individual means one's habitual emotional reactions. The classification of the temperaments by Wundt, now usually accepted, is as follows: the choleric, with quick and lively reaction; the phlegmatic, with slow and strong

reaction; the sanguine, with quick and weak reaction; the melancholic, with slow and weak reaction.

The affective and emotional tendencies are vitally significant in the personality. Here the functional view of feeling and emotion, as held by Claparède⁸ and many other psychologists, is helpful. Feeling and emotion are significant for what they do, for the function they perform. Feeling is, as we have seen, the ordinary stimulus to action. Emotion is a violent form of feeling; and this too is significant for what it does. What actually results from it is twofold; on the one hand is action; on the other, action that has broken down, as Claparède has pointed out, emotion again.

A thesis, not in conflict with the functional theory of emotion, was presented at the Wittenberg Symposium by that clear-headed psychologist, the late Morton Prince³⁰ who suggested a theory of emotion as energy. Without attempting to localize the origin of emotion as energy in the organism, he did suggest a constructive notion of "the serviceability of emotion and feeling to the organism and the part they play in behavior," and he adds by way of illustration: "Step on it, step on the gas," you tell your chauffeur. He steps on the accelerator, and your machine springs forward with increased energy. "Go to it," you tell the young man who has undertaken a job. "Go to it," the coach tells the athlete—the track runners, the football team, the crew—and each and all step on the accelerator of their emotions and spring with revitalizing energy, power, to their task of beating their rivals. Without turning on the energy of their emotions, what a listless game they would play! But they step on the accelerator only when increased power is needed, yet at all times the throttle is

partially open, just enough to supply sufficient energy to keep the wheels of activity going and to help in doing the everyday job." (pp. 167-168.)

Theories of Emotion.—Naturally mental hygiene is concerned especially with the facts brought out by those theories, on the one hand, that emphasize the stimulating, dynamic and active influence of emotion, and by those, on the other hand, that emphasize the disturbing and disintegrating effects of emotion.

Among psychologists there is a tendency to accept a functional theory of emotion and to note what emotion does, the influence it has on an individual's experience, on health, belief, behavior, and development. Naturally this takes many forms. Some psychologists emphasize emotion as the source and stimulus of action. Some make it a general force in a person's behavior and development, a "dynamic background," as Dunlap expresses it. Some look upon both thought and emotion as conditioned by motor processes, and, like Miss Washburn,⁴⁰ maintain that under some conditions thought is aided by emotion.

The Genetic Point of View Is Helpful.—Recent studies, for example, that by Bridges⁴¹ on fifty nursery-school children for a period of three years, give a clew to the genetic development of emotion in young children, and indicate that the behavior aspect of the commonly recognized emotions is very complex, and consists of much more than the visceral reactions, and suggests that the emotions "should perhaps be described as certain changes in the behavior of the total personality." (p. 514.)

These emotional tendencies are so deep-seated and so fundamental in relation to human activity, the expression of them is usually so spontaneous or else so obvi-

ously repressed, and the unique individual manner of expression either so pleasing or so repulsive, that they represent perhaps the most significant of all the factors that combine to make up human personality. (Chapter XVII.)

3. *The Human Will*

Although psychology has hardly yet become emancipated from the old view of the will as a faculty, nevertheless the general use of the term to represent the total psychophysic energy of an individual in purposive activity is the natural one to express the prevalent view in modern psychology. This, at least, we can take as roughly representing the motive power and inherent energy of the psychophysic organism of an individual. Whether we look upon it as the determining tendency in human personality, or as an autonomous directing power, or as the free expression of the fundamental urge of the organism, it is in any case of prime importance.

In the general view of most people no factor in human personality is more significant than the will. Thus we speak of the men and women with dominant wills as the ones who direct their own lives as they wish and who dominate other people. In history also those characters who have been outstanding in their influence and their usefulness have usually been regarded as those having strong wills, and even in our social organizations and institutions and in industrial enterprises the leaders are supposed to be men with masterful wills. The same is true of the school. The teachers who have strong wills are supposed to have a valuable asset for controlling and guiding a school successfully. Such at least is the common opinion.

If, however, we attempt to analyze what is meant by the human will, it is by no means a simple matter; and although the psychophysical energy of the individual is tremendously important, many factors usually contribute to the so-called controlling will. The outstanding fact, however, is that the means of expressing the will is by the neuromuscular system. If the great glory of man is an autonomous will, then part of that glory is shared by the tiniest muscle, and the way to train the will is by motor training.

4. *One's Moral Character*

This is a different thing from conscience. The basis of it is of course the total personality. Thus common language fittingly describes an individual of high moral character and wholesome personality as a man of integrity; but character is usually estimated according to one's degree of conformity to certain conventional standards. It concerns especially one's behavior and includes one's obedience to organized and traditional authority. In its highest form it includes also one's devotion to personal honor and to civic righteousness.*

5. *Conscience*

The significance of this factor in human personality was long ago expressed by the great German philosopher Kant in the classic passage where he said: "Two things fill me with ever renewed awe and admiration, the starry heavens above and the moral law within." The latter, as apparently he meant, the categorical imperative, popularly known as the voice of conscience, however varying

* For an extended discussion of theories, standards, tests, and the like, one should consult Roback's book, *Psychology and Character*.²²

in its concrete expression, is a factor of prime importance in every normal individual.

Individual Differences in Conscience.—The varieties of human personality are in no way better illustrated perhaps than in the individual differences in what is made a matter of conscience. The varieties of conscience in this popular sense are conditioned by many different factors. A few of these follow.

Conscience is often conditioned by social convention. Many people by disposition or by training or by both are so enslaved to the customs of the social groups of which they are members that the convention of the group becomes the equivalent of the moral law. Whatever group custom sanctions is right, and conscience requires obedience. Historians tell us that anything whatever may become a matter of conscience, and that, at one time or another in various countries in the past, nearly every crime in the calendar has been a social custom and a matter of duty, because the sanction of the group is well-nigh a categorical imperative.

The individual conscience may be conditioned by one's own training and one's own acquired habits. As soon as a habit is thoroughly acquired, the fundamental character of it, the conditioned reflexes that enter into it, make action in accordance with it necessary. One who acts contrary to one's own full-grown habit may feel self-condemned much as one does who has clearly violated a moral command. The individual's pet mannerism, one's tricks of daily procedure, one's personal ritual in behavior and thought, and even the sequence of one's professional or business duties, may become such matters of conscientious performance. This seems especially true of teachers. Thus years ago of the orthodox Herbartians

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it was said that, as the Hindoo zealot at the close of the day has to go through a period of reflection as to whether he has contaminated himself by stepping upon ashes or by opening a door without the prescribed prayer, so the zealous disciple of Herbart must go through a period of meditation as to whether he followed the formal stages of instruction in right sequence, with due allotment of time, and the like.

Conscience may be conditioned also by any intense purpose. To have formed a definite resolution to do a thing, to some people means an intensity of purpose that must by all means be fulfilled. Whatever it may be, however trivial, satisfaction can come only by fulfillment; and failure of this leaves a regret and self-condemnation which for the individual may mean the sting of conscience. In many meticulously careful persons psychological analysis would show that the basis of this is not really the voice of conscience but rather weak nerves or pedantic habits.

Again to many people conscience means a fundamental and all pervading ideal of one's own personality, somewhat like the Freudian superego; and, whereas this may be largely unconscious to the individual and appear definitely only in behavior, in certain conditions it becomes insistent and dominates the personality.

Again the individual conscience may be largely a mental complex, emotionally colored by anything whatever that happens to be closely connected with the individual ego. Since it is the emotional coloring that makes such complexes insistent in determining one's behavior.

Finally, all these individual differences are modified by the relations of the individual conscience to the totality of the individual personality. Most significant of all, perhaps, is the relation between conscience of whatever kind and the individual reason. In a few scientifically trained and highly developed individuals conscience is under the control of reason; perhaps it would be more accurate to say that its content is determined or at least modified by reason. And in some it may be that the sanction of reason is the only categorical imperative.

Although the relation of the individual conscience to reason is the most significant of all relations, and obedience to one's reasoned judgment may itself become equivalent to obedience to conscience and sanctioned by the deep-seated attitude of personal honor, this development apparently occurs only in a minority of people; and the majority, on the other hand, show a very different relation between conscience and reason. The common mental process is for an individual to make a practical decision as an emotional reaction and then use reason to find justification for it. Or, to use the technical term, one rationalizes it. Evidence of this and illustrations would be too commonplace. They are likely to be found in every household and in every form of social, industrial, or political group.

Naturally the difference between these different forms of conscience is not as clear-cut as this outline might suggest; the different forms may overlap and be inter-related; and especially is it true that for any individual it is difficult to rule out emotional prejudice and personal desire.

6. *Ideals and Beliefs*

Another prime factor of the personality is one's ideals and beliefs. These have a vast influence in the general, and even what may be called the practical, make-up of the personality. Consider, for example, the attitude of Epictetus,²⁰ whose general philosophy of life was expressed in his view that, since we had nothing to do with coming into this universe, and nothing to do with things that happen to us while here, or in going out of the world, we should not worry about these things. All that we as individuals are responsible for is what lies in the power of our own wills. When one attains such an attitude it profoundly modifies one's personality, and the same with other fundamental beliefs, whether *nativ  * or acquired.

The significance of these personal ideals and beliefs in the individual personality is apt to be gravely underestimated. The particular philosophy of the individual may vary enormously from the broadest scientific view of the universe to the narrow creed of some religious enthusiast; but whatever it is, if it gives confidence, it has a profound influence. At adolescence or soon after, if not before, the individual may well get some prevision of the vastness of the universe and the tremendously significant scientific truths that have at least been adumbrated by wise men and scientific students.

All through the history of humanity we find great thinkers and seers, as well as the doers of great deeds, inspired in times of stress and trial by the perspective of vast visions and great ideals. The prophets and heroes have lived by such light "as seeing him who was invisible"; eugenists and other scientists are glad to work for a far-off millennial goal of a higher, nobler, and better

humanity; even the heroes of defeat have been supported by the insight that the fight itself in a righteous cause is always worth while; so it has been with great men everywhere.

Even in the natural sciences the significance of human ideals is more and more being recognized. Thus in a recent address Millikan²³ expressed strongly their value in regard to human activity in substance as follows: Man's belief in regard to himself and his relations to the world are the fundamental moving forces in determining his own activities. Thoughtful men everywhere are apparently more and more coming to recognize the value of human ideals and human beliefs in relation to human behavior.

7. *Attitudes and Interests*

Without attempting to grade the different factors of personality according to their importance, and without any attempt to allot a definite place to one factor or another, it may be said in a general way that the deep-seated, vital, and essential part of human personality is made up of emotional tendencies, interests,²⁰ and attitudes. These furnish the characteristics that charm or repel us in our companions and friends. No adequate account of this can be given in brief compass. Two or three examples of the attitudes, however, important for education and mental health alike, may be noted concretely.

The Learning Attitude.—The condition that makes learning possible is largely the mental attitude of the learner. Rightly included in this attitude are not merely docility and a normal sense of curiosity, or the instinct for further cognition, as James¹⁸ would say, but also the

more deep-seated characteristic called suggestibility. Of this characteristic we meet all degrees from the tactful readiness of the polite individual in providing for the wishes of his guest up to the extreme susceptibility to suggestion seen in the good hypnotic subject in deep hypnosis.

In older days certain individuals were supposed to have mesmeric or hypnotic power and special ability to hypnotize others. Now it is known that this is not true, but rather certain individuals are especially suggestible and hence good subjects for the hypnotic experimenter. Thus any one who knows how to practice the simple technique necessary can hypnotize such subjects. In some individuals this suggestibility is so extreme that they are put to sleep at once by the word of command, are ready to perform any act suggested, and may even be cured of such disorders as headache and the like by the mere suggestion of the experimenter. Thus the French psychologist Bernheim⁵ defines hypnosis as a condition where one is open to suggestion in extreme degree. Although suggestibility is an attitude where danger of personality disorders may lurk in the background, it also furnishes a characteristic of the individual favorable for learning of various kinds. But unless balanced by other factors of the personality and regulated by right training, it may also render one liable to many errors.

These individual differences seem to be partly innate and partly the result of education. Most children are open to suggestion in high degree; and all through pre-school life they are receiving suggestion from their natural environment, from parents, and especially from other children. When they go to school they are placed in a group where they are continually subject to suggestion

from other pupils and a more or less systematic training by suggestion from the teachers.

In general, the learning attitude is of prime importance as a factor of personality. As the scientific attitude, it not only makes one open-minded to truth of every kind, and always ready to face reality, but also leads one to discover reality by scientific methods.

Confidence.—Of the characteristics that condition the mental health and individual success, confidence likewise stands among the first. This is dependent primarily upon physical conditions, red blood in the veins, good digestion, strong nerves, and the right balance of the whole body, not how many endocrine glands. It is dependent also upon a habit of success developed from childhood and one's ability to do things both physical and mental, and most of all on the integration of one's total personality.

Concrete illustration of the importance of confidence is given in every form of activity; for example, in the active sports, such as swimming, boxing, fencing, and all the major accomplishments of skill, both in manual activity and the fine arts, like music, painting, sculpture, oratory, and the like, as well as in business. Everywhere confidence is an attitude essential for success, and lack of confidence a handicap that the educator and hygienist find it is necessary to replace at the outset by a positive attitude of self-reliance. (Chapter XIV.)

Other attitudes that play an important rôle in all forms of individual or group activities should be discussed in any attempt to give a catalogue of the mental attitudes. This, however, is impossible and unnecessary, but the relative value of them in contrast with mere scholastic knowledge may well be emphasized. Modern psychology, especially the psychology of the Würzburg

school in Germany and the representatives of the same general point of view in this country, together with the contributions of experimental and genetic psychology, have shown the prime importance of the attitudes of the human mind in relation to thought and action. They are equally important for the mental health of the individual. The totality of mental attitudes usually represents a factor far more important both for efficiency and mental health than knowledge, however broad, or academic accomplishments, however varied.

8. *The Religious Attitudes*

So significant are the religious feelings and attitudes in the human personality that, although partly included in the mental attitudes just referred to, they may well be noted separately, especially the essential religious attitudes of reverence, dependence, and service. However varied religious beliefs may be, however meager or rich an individual's creed, these essential religious attitudes are the vital things and represent the great influence of religion in the individual personality and in many group relations. The beauty and glory of such attitudes in human personality can be realized only by recalling familiar examples from personal observation and the concrete illustrations in literature from Gautama to Tagore in India, and from St. Jerome and St. Augustine to Phillips Brooks and Cardinal Mercier during the Christian era.

9. *The Individual's Knowledge*

Knowledge, as everybody knows, represents power in individual problems; and in relation to intelligence, breadth of knowledge sometimes enables the individual

of a low level of intelligence to compensate in practical affairs for considerable arrest of intellectual development; while on the other hand idolatry of knowledge and the conceit of one's own personal knowledge not infrequently lead the individual of superior intelligence into gross error. Only when broad knowledge is utilized by an individual of high intelligence, in strict conformity to the scientific method, can even solons be protected from the pitfalls of human reason.

Knowledge is less important for the individual than permanent interests and wholesome mental attitudes; but thorough knowledge without conceit furnishes material for achievement and usually at least to some degree the stimulus of success.

10. *Imagination and Memory*

It is customary since Kant to distinguish two kinds of imagination: the reproductive, that is, the recall of mental images; and the productive, which functions in combining ideas into new creations, as in daydreaming, the imagination of poet and painter, and the like. Also two kinds of memory are distinguished, retentiveness and recollection. With the reproductive imagination, including imaginal types, and with retentiveness, apart from the important part they play in the background of personality, we are not especially concerned; but the productive imagination and recollection directly concern any study of personality.

A Concrete Study.—As a more concrete illustration we may note the individual differences in recollection. Probably, in all cases of recall, imagination and association combine with actual remembrance, and no memory of a past experience is a quite accurate reproduction of

the injury from repetition is far greater than with the others.

3. Continued variation with repetition of the report in regard to the same subject does not always make the testimony in regard to a separate fact incorrect. Different facts may be mentioned correctly in different reports. Richness of details in testimony does not prove its correctness but indicates rather the opposite.

Again, Zillig concludes, constant testimony is not simply a mark of higher, and varying testimony of lower, intelligence, or the reverse. The intellectual equipment, however, of the constant and the varying type differs, and still more the personal characteristics. The constant type is distinguished from the varying type by greater concentration of attention, greater resistance to suggestion, higher ability for strict logical thinking. The varying type has more changeable mental presentations than the constant type and surpasses the latter greatly in imaginative thinking. The constant and the varying type differ essentially in their degree of discipline or in their lack of control, as the case may be. The varying type is inferior to the constant type as regards discipline, or shows a far greater lack of control than the latter. Lack of foresight, of accuracy, and of trustworthiness, characterizes the varying type in contrast with the constant type.

Finally, the results of Zillig's investigation indicate different memory characteristics in children, and show how these proceed from a quite specific intelligence and personality in the owner, and how this memory character indicates not only a definite form of testimony, but also a definite type of the personality. The practical value of the facts found are especially significant in the forensic

field. They aid in the evaluation of child testimony, they justify mistrust of child testimony in regard to crimes. They warn teachers of the need of great prudence in their activity with children.

This investigation of one aspect of a single factor of child personality illustrates the interrelation of factors and how difficult such study is. To determine, for example, the cause of the children's errors is not easy. Of this Zillig says in substance:

Children as a rule are bad reporters in regard to bodily contacts. Without any intention they can distort harmless acts and speech. The changes and transpositions in their repeated testimony in regard to bodily contacts appear especially caused by lack of ability in expression and inaccuracy in speech, by their attitude at any time, their inclination to note their experiences that are not understood, their joy in exaggeration, their reciprocal influence, and especially by their great inaccuracy in localization of bodily contacts. This inaccuracy depends partly on their insufficient knowledge of the human body. As a consequence, children may describe quite harmless physical contacts in a manner casting severe or even criminal discredit on their authors, and without the children having any suspicion of their inaccuracy, or even desiring to injure anybody by their testimony.

From such studies it is clear how great a rôle imagination and memory play in the personality of an individual, especially in case of children. A vivid imagination and a ready memory may function vicariously for many of the different factors of personality, especially perhaps for intelligence, knowledge, judgment, and the like.

In a more recent investigation Zillig⁴³ has studied the observation and memory trustworthiness of eleven-year-

old girls in a school in Würzburg, testing the reliability of their testimony. She comes to the conclusion, not only that the testimony of children should be taken with great caution, but also that criteria of reliability are not to be found usually in any one personality trait, but rather in the totality of the personality.

II. *Intelligence*

The studies of intelligence by the usual mental tests have resulted in a contribution of great importance both for education and for mental hygiene. They have, however, often turned the attention of teachers and hygienists away from certain other factors in human personality, and apparently have often aroused expectation of practical applications that are quite impossible. In some instances they have even raised the general conception of the importance of mere intelligence to an exaggerated degree that makes disappointment and disillusion bound to occur in many concrete cases. The sound method is control of the results of the mental tests by all other data available from the history and observation of individual cases, and careful study of the way intelligence is stimulated on the one hand and inhibited on the other by the functioning of other factors of the human mind, that is, by considering intelligence in right perspective in the total integrated personality.

What may be called the practical value of intelligence as a factor in the personality depends on its relation to the emotional reactions of the individual. The common condition seems to be, as already noted with regard to conscience, one where the individual makes emotional responses to the various situations of life and then uses intelligence to find reasons and excuses for such responses.

Where on the one hand the intelligence of the individual means control of behavior by reason, the level of intelligence is a factor of prime importance; where on the other hand the intelligence is used merely in finding excuses for emotional responses, the individual of high intelligence may be no better off than the moron, because a permanent habit of rationalization reduces one to the level of the pseudo-feeble-minded. A contribution of prime importance has been made by the intelligence tests in the discovery of superior children.²⁹

12. *Common Sense, Judgment, Wisdom*

The most important factor in dominating the personality is common-sense or wisdom when strongly developed. This is a very different thing from mere knowledge. Socrates was ignorant of book knowledge; he could not read and he belittled the art of writing, but he had great wisdom. Jesus had little conventional scholarship, but his common-sense and wisdom have amazed modern critics. Many great leaders of the old days could neither read nor write; many to-day who have had little education from the schools, have done the great deeds and directed the great developments of modern life.

Again, many individuals have been governed by common-sense who had also strong wills and intense emotions. Wisdom is commonly supposed to be chiefly a matter of inheritance, but, whether inherited or the result of training, it is likely to be a controlling factor.

Common-sense or wisdom may be referred to as the individual's judgment, or it may be called balance, and again it constitutes a large part of the individual's intelligence; but as it is only imperfectly gauged by the

usual intelligence tests, and as it is likely to be better understood when referred to as common-sense or wisdom, it is well at least to emphasize it as a factor by itself.

Wisdom, if present, is likely to control the personality even when the ego is strongly developed, and it is of prime importance in integrating the total personality. Thus no other factor perhaps is superior to this in determining the characteristics of an individual.

How far wisdom has increased during the last two thousand years is doubtful. Apparently the level of intelligence among Athenian citizens during the fifth century B.C. was as high as that among the bigger class of citizens in this country to-day, but any average school-boy could teach modern knowledge to the Athenian solons. Knowledge has increased, wisdom has lagged. Human reason is still balked by the conceit of knowledge; but probably in all normal individuals some modicum of common-sense is found; and this, if it be possible, should by every rule be fostered.

In practical life sometimes different factors function vicariously. Thus a good memory and the particular knowledge needed in a special situation may enable one to succeed in an emergency as well as intelligence or wisdom would, but in general the latter are safer and better.

Knowledge and memory, intelligence, and wisdom, sometimes give the same results. This and the relation between them might be illustrated by the activities of the shop girl or of the great statesman. The simpler example is usually better. A modern fable may be taken for illustration.

In a large city there were three stenographers, "I," "M," and "S." Each of these was invited to accept a

new position with high wages and short hours, a position, however, that, as it proved later, was offered by a bad woman who made a practice of kidnaping girls and holding them for a ransom.

"I" was a girl of high intelligence. When she received the invitation she noted at once that the position was located in a bad part of the city and inferred that something probably was wrong about it. Consequently she ignored it altogether, and the next morning was safe in her own room as usual. "S" was also a girl of high intelligence and wise and prudent in her judgment. She, however, had just come to the city and had few acquaintances. The questionable location of the position meant nothing to her because she was a stranger. Consequently she went to the special bureau of information maintained by the Y.W.C.A., inquired about the matter, and was informed that in all probability it was a fake offered by some dangerous person. Consequently she too ignored the offer and next morning was safe in her own room. "M" was a girl of no great intelligence but she had a wide acquaintance in the city and an excellent memory. She was delighted when she received the offer of a better position, went to the place at the time appointed and accepted it at once. Very soon, however, she recognized that something was wrong, and at first was paralyzed by dread. Then she recalled the experience one of her friends had had, and in fact recognized that this house was probably the same place. Her friend had told her that she found herself shut up in the house, forbidden opportunity to go out, but that about four o'clock in the morning all the inmates were either drunk or asleep, and she was able to climb out of the house by way of the fire escape. "M" believed

she could do the same, so waited until the hour of drunken slumber came, and then climbed out over the fire escape, and in the morning was safe in her own room as usual. This banal example may be taken to illustrate the vicarious relations of some of the different personality factors.

As suggested at the outset, many other factors of personality might be distinguished; each mental attitude might be so considered. Business men often distinguish the clothes personality, the speech personality, the style personality, tact, good manners, good fellowship, and the like, emphasizing the things especially important in connection with dealing with one's fellow men. These are, of course, concrete instances in connection with different major factors that have been mentioned.

The Indeterminate Factor

Besides all these traits of personality it is usually recognized that there is also an indefinite but highly significant aspect of personality. This is what makes the individual different from others. It is likely to be this also that lends charm to the personality or makes it repellent or indifferent. This subtle characteristic can not be defined, precisely because it is different, because it is the unique aspect, the gift of nature to the individual, in some, at least, the nucleus of the total personality.

Such are perhaps the most important characteristics of human personality from the point of view of mental hygiene. This is by no means a catalogue of psychological capacities and functions. It is rather a rough list of important factors met in everyday life.

A great literature exists in regard to abnormal and criminal traits. These, however, usually show in exaggerated form impulses and tendencies that are normal when properly balanced and controlled. Many other characteristics are of the class commonly included in the accounts of human folly.

The ego as a factor in human personality we have discussed at length. It remains to repeat in connection with the consideration of these other factors that the normal ego, of which we have spoken, is one that has developed in right relation to the other factors of personality and is properly and wholesomely balanced by them.

Normality

Although the obvious conclusion with regard to the mental health is that these different factors should be properly balanced and combined in right relations into an integrated whole, the total personality, nobody knows what the normal balance and normal combination would be; and if we did know, we should probably still be quite unable to give the training necessary for the development of such a balanced personality. Until we obtain more adequate knowledge, the practical test of normality is the ability to perform some significant task and to coöperate peaceably in the ordinary social groups of which one is a member.

The Psychiatric Point of View

A different scheme of personality factors for psychiatric purposes has been formulated in substance as follows by Amsden.⁴ First the intellectual activities. Second the "somatic demands"—physical activity of all

kinds, including sexual activity. Under this heading come such topics as the output of energy; whether the patient was inert and sluggish, or active and enterprising; whether and to what extent he indulged in sports and hobbies; whether unduly careful of his health; kinds of sexual activity, and how regarded. Amsden's third group of reactions includes the important topics of self-estimate and self-criticism—the attitude toward success, the ability to recognize and correct failures, or the absence of such ability, leading to evasions, self-deception and inefficiency. His fourth category deals with the "urgency to adaptation." (p. 501.) In this division he is concerned with the ambition, courage, tenacity, and the like, of the individual.

Integration of All Factors

One general consideration should be added. All the factors of personality are important. All should be properly balanced and integrated in one whole. Fortunately all of these are so significant that an individual may be weakly developed in some things and yet by training may acquire strength and compensation for the weakness. Thus an individual may be weak in moral character and yet by good training acquire habits of right response to the ordinary individual and social situations of life. One may have a low level of intelligence, and yet by the acquisition of a large store of practical knowledge or superior skill and accomplishment in some special ability, become able to render great social service and achieve success. Or by one's clearness of vision in a few important practical affairs and one's psychophysical energy and drive, one's will, if you please, one may achieve success. Thus men of

relatively low intellectual ability, by industry, or even sometimes by their high ideals and the beauty of their attainments, or by their emotional character, have become superior members of society.

The integration of the different factors of the personality is perhaps more important for the individual's health than the development of any one special factor. From the point of view of hygiene we may put it briefly by saying that in normal healthful development there will be not only integration of the different factors into one whole, but a sequence of integrations at higher and higher levels. There will be integration of the ego in right balance with the other factors, and ultimately integration of the personality with focus about some great task instead of about the ego.

SUMMARY

1. The factors of human personality are many.
2. The simplest and safest classification of the different factors is that of Spearman,³² a division into a general factor and a specific factor.
3. Many other classifications of the different factors from various points of view may be made.
4. For our present purpose a rough general classification from the ordinary point of view of everyday thought and simple psychology is helpful and all that is necessary.
5. All the different factors are interrelated and no attempt at rigorous distinctions has been made.
6. The central factor is the ego or ego complex.
7. In the normal individual all the different factors are integrated.

8. For the first six or seven years of life the different factors are integrated about the ego as a focus.

9. In some persons the egocentric integration of the personality seems to persist throughout life.

10. In some persons the egocentric integration of childhood is outgrown and integration about some great task as a focus is attained. This usually involves devotion to some person, or group of persons, for example, a political party, church, country, or great ideal, for example, in art, literature, education, or science.

11. Different degrees of integration appear in different persons, but whatever the stage of development of each of the separate factors in the individual, all of these factors are to some degree integrated in the normal personality.

12. The different factors of personality to a certain extent may function vicariously. Thus if an individual is especially weak in one personality trait, this may be offset by especially strong development of some other factor that compensates for it.

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CHAPTER IV

UNCONSCIOUS ATTITUDES

THE importance of the mental attitudes has been emphasized. Some of them are conscious; some are unconscious; some are in part conscious, in part unconscious. The unconscious attitudes so largely make up the human personality that they afford fruitful opportunity for study. Our main sources of knowledge about them are observation of normal and abnormal cases, and experiment. The purpose of this chapter, however, is not to give an account of the wide field of the Freudian unconscious. Nor will any attempt be made to present the spectacular and sometimes weird and uncanny examples of unconscious states and processes, nor the unusual and the abnormal, but rather the ordinary and commonplace, but often more instructive, examples from everyday life. Neither will any attempt be made to present what might be an interesting, but probably a mythical, genealogy of some of our conscious ideas and attitudes in their unconscious genesis and development. Merely a few illustrations from observation and experiment will be cited.

The literature on this subject is full of interesting examples. Hartmann's *Philosophy of the Unconscious*⁶ was the first large collection of illustrations drawn from many sources. Among the best of the voluminous Freudian literature is the original classic by Freud himself, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.⁷ Although one may not agree with the author's inferences, the book

is most stimulating and suggestive. And to-day a large amount of psychological literature bearing more or less directly on the subject is available.

Some readers may be surprised that the unconscious, so-called, was not given as one of the factors of the individual personality. Those who desire one place for everything mysterious find the unconscious a very convenient, all-embracing conception. As a matter of fact, however, the different factors in personality contain each perhaps an unconscious element. In any case these unconscious attitudes are understood best in relation to the separate factors of which they are parts. A brief account of a few examples may suffice here.

In our observation of human beings we often see individuals who are the victims of conceit, selfishness, timidity, and the like, but have little or no idea of this *fact about themselves*. Parents and teachers innocently rob children by helping them too much, but are unaware of the underlying self-centered attitude that makes them follow their own interests rather than those of the children. Children often treat their companions unkindly without knowledge of their own attitudes of *prejudice and injustice in regard to them*. All of us perhaps possess one or more of the attitudes of pride, self-confidence, selfishness, prejudice, or of dishonesty, timidity, self-debasement, and a sense of inferiority, without much knowledge of the fact; but we are sometimes able to discover such unconscious attitudes by self-observation in various situations. To those who have the power of introspection and of self-analysis, the revelation of oneself to oneself is often amazing and humiliating.

Pathological cases often show in extreme form the un-

conscious attitudes that normal people share. The literature in regard to the abnormal is full of examples of survivals of childish attitudes, of fears, jealousies, prejudices, and the like, together with conditioned attitudes of manifold variety, of which the possessors are not conscious. These unconscious attitudes, revealed by observation of the normal and the abnormal, are now so commonly known that it may seem banal to speak of them. Their importance for the health of the individual personality, however, can hardly be overemphasized.

Unconscious Work Attitudes

In *The Normal Mind* the writer has discussed the minimal essentials for mental health and education alike—a task, a plan, and freedom. With each one of these are connected unconscious mental attitudes that are deep-seated and vital to the health of the individual.

The child's devotion day after day to his own task soon develops conditioned responses and mental associations that become a part of the individual's personality. In later years, when some great task is chosen for one's life work, the part that the unconscious attitudes play in the health and personality may be still more vital and significant. This is illustrated over and over again as soon as an individual loses his task. The workman deprived of his job, if it is a work of skill, or done with zest and interest, or essential for livelihood, is inconsolable; for his job means not only financial reward but personal independence, self-respect, and a worthy place in the social group of which he is a member. The aged man or woman no longer able to continue work is lost, and only then, it may be, realizes what a vital part of life one's task has been. Every one perhaps knows ex-

amples from personal observation. The man who retires from business frequently does so with anticipations of rest and pleasure, and when he finds he has really lost his work, is upset; the unconscious attitudes of satisfaction and the zest of living that he had while at work are all gone, and he realizes then too late that the loss is irreparable. For a commonplace representative illustration, a friend of mine made arrangements to retire from an active business, but fortunately discovered before he had finally concluded his arrangements that he did have this unconscious attitude and that the loss would be unendurable; so he gave up his intentions and still is contented and happy in the same occupation. To multiply examples is unnecessary; but these work attitudes are vastly important to the mental health and the maintenance of a normal personality.

Again in the doing of a worthwhile task a plan is necessary to make it purposive activity, and in connection with the plan and purpose of one's work still other unconscious mental attitudes are developed which may be no less important to the maintenance of the wholesome personality. If one's plan is a good one, these involve a wholesome integration in the daily task and the satisfaction that comes from well ordered work.

Unconscious Freedom.—The third essential for mental health is freedom. In order that the task may be the child's own, freedom is essential. Although of course guidance is necessary, a maximum of freedom should be granted to the child to choose his own task and to do it in his own way. The unconscious attitudes developed in the spontaneous doing of one's own task are indispensable to the development of a normal personality. How deep-seated the attitude of freedom is in a

normal child who has developed in healthful surroundings, few of us realize.

The child's demand for freedom is imperative from the outset. All through childhood, if a child is hampered, if one holds him, for example, tightly in one's arms, the violent response of anger is likely to appear. That such lack of freedom by rigorous limitation is the biologically adequate stimulus to anger, is now recognized. That the thwarting of children in a thousand petty things in the home and the school is likely to influence the mental health, is apt to be ignored.

Thus in a child the unconscious attitude of freedom is essential for the best development of the personality. In youth the same is true. In all periods of history the champions of freedom have been adolescents. In manhood, if the individual has never given hostages to convention or dishonesty or bigotry, this unconscious attitude insures the maintenance of the wholesome personality. Much the same is true of the social group. In part this was what Wendell Phillips meant when he said: "Whether in chains or in laurels, liberty knows nothing but victories."

Even in adult life one frequently does not realize the limitations to freedom imposed by unfortunate conditions of work until the good fortune comes to be freed from them; then the value of freedom and the fact that the limitations were unconscious may become fully apparent.

Original and Imitative.—Important attitudes in regard to the kind and method of one's work are also largely unconscious. The range of individual difference in these attitudes is great. Those who like to distinguish types can easily classify these. An obvious di-

vision is into those who are original and creative in their work and those who are imitative and conventional.

Henning¹² has attempted to distinguish on the one hand those who follow models, prescriptions, and the like, in their thinking and general procedure; on the other, those who forget models, instructions, precepts, and dogmas, but solve problems for themselves and do original thinking. To the former type belong the bureaucrats, stereotyped workers, pedants, and the like. To the second type belong the independents those original and free in their mental processes.

Henning's Experiments.—His experiments were carried out on 30 pupils of the highest Middle School class, at Neufahrwasser; 201 children of both sexes just graduated from the Volk- and Mittelschulen; and teachers and students of the philosophical, legal, and technical faculties; and others—altogether 463 subjects—students and teachers. Each one of these was tested separately, and the usual precautions against error were taken.

In the directions for the first series of the experiment the subjects received a card on which were three figures, with instruction to draw three more figures of any kind desired. Again in the chief series of the experiment three to five pictures were presented, one after another, with the instruction to draw something as different as possible from the model, something that had nothing whatever to do with it and was of quite a different kind. In the second series they were instructed with every ten words to write another word as different from what was prescribed as possible. The adults received besides ten difficult problems, sentences, aphorisms, paradoxes, witticisms, or the like, and for each one it was required to produce something as different as possible.

In a parallel experiment no model was given, but the subject must do all himself, that is, one must draw something, or write down a word, or a thought. That done, then one had to make a different drawing, or write some other word or thought, as different as possible.

The subjects were forbidden to repeat the model. Otherwise they were given complete freedom, with no limitations or suggestions in regard to interpretation of the model or the like. The aim was to test the deeper traits of personality.

While the gist of the instructions was that repetition was forbidden, one of the striking results of the experiment showed that the drawing produced was apt to contain an element or a small complex part of the picture exposed in the model given. The subject knew nothing of the fact that his drawing contained any part of the copy. When this was called to his attention he was quite disturbed and surprised. This is best shown by example.

The models contained caricatures of Roosevelt, Selma Lagerlöf, Björnson, and others. A student of literature and history drew a footstool whose feet consisted of Björnson's hair; a pupil of the Middle School drew a triangle which he filled with Björnson's forelock quite accurately in the style of the caricature. Another drew a comb which was Björnson's whiskers reversed.

The caricature of Selma Lagerlöf represented her as supporting her chin with her hand, whose fingers were very fat sausage fingers. One finger was crooked. A student of German made a drawing of a walking stick with a round crook. If one laid the walking stick on the model it covered accurately the crooked finger and the contour of the lower arm of Selma Lagerlöf.

The number of students who made these unconscious repetitions was 9 per cent among the youth and 11 per cent among adults. A specially important point was that if the attention of the subjects was called to the fact that a part of their production was identical with a part of the copy, at first they were disturbed, but their surprise frequently turned to a laugh and the subject admitted frankly that it was true. In this way the results differ from those of psychoanalysis. In the latter case it is hard for the patient to see the connection between the dream and the wish, between the complex and the error in performance, or between the original and the symbol. The psychoanalyst frequently has to dig out this relation by analyses for months in order to show it plausibly to the patient. The students in Henning's experiments, however, frankly and spontaneously admitted the identity of the two drawings, sometimes saying that the experiment hit the nail on the head, it was true to life, or the drawing of the student in relation to the other was the spirit of its spirit, and so on.

Henning's results were not due, he thinks, to ordinary perseveration, and with Ach he warns against seeing perseveration where there is none. Perseveration is characterized by quick reaction time, and thus Ach, when he urged his subjects to speed, found a higher per cent of it. Henning's experiments in general do not show this result at all, rather they resulted in very much lengthened reactions. The subject, absorbed in his work, needed on an average three to thirty fold more time than usual, and in extreme cases fifty times as much. If one urged them to speed, they usually left empty pages, since in the shorter time, say from one to five minutes, they had not yet done anything. (p. 47.)

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The models contained caricatures of Roosevelt, Selma Lagerlöf, Björnson, and others. A student of literature and history drew a footstool whose feet consisted of Björnson's hair; a pupil of the Middle School drew a triangle which he filled with Björnson's forelock quite accurately in the style of the caricature. Another drew a comb which was Björnson's whiskers reversed.

The caricature of Selma Lagerlöf represented her as supporting her chin with her hand, whose fingers were very fat sausage fingers. One finger was crooked. A student of German made a drawing of a walking stick with a round crook. If one laid the walking stick on the model it covered accurately the crooked finger and the contour of the lower arm of Selma Lagerlöf.

The number of students who made these unconscious repetitions was 9 per cent among the youth and 11 per cent among adults. A specially important point was that if the attention of the subjects was called to the fact that a part of their production was identical with a part of the copy, at first they were disturbed, but their surprise frequently turned to a laugh and the subject admitted frankly that it was true. In this way the results differ from those of psychoanalysis. In the latter case it is hard for the patient to see the connection between the dream and the wish, between the complex and the error in performance, or between the original and the symbol. The psychoanalyst frequently has to dig out this relation by analyses for months in order to show it plausibly to the patient. The students in Henning's experiments, however, frankly and spontaneously admitted the identity of the two drawings, sometimes saying that the experiment hit the nail on the head, it was true to life, or the drawing of the student in relation to the other was the spirit of its spirit, and so on.

Henning's results were not due, he thinks, to ordinary perseveration, and with Ach he warns against seeing perseveration where there is none. Perseveration is characterized by quick reaction time, and thus Ach, when he urged his subjects to speed, found a higher per cent of it. Henning's experiments in general do not show this result at all, *rather they resulted in very much lengthened reactions*. The subject, absorbed in his work, needed on an average three to thirty fold more time than usual, and in extreme cases fifty times as much. If one urged them to speed, they usually left empty pages, since in the shorter time, say from one to five minutes, they had not yet done anything. (p. 47.)

Suggestion also was ruled out in Henning's experiments. Here the subjects worked alone and in the absence of the experimenter, who never knew what they would produce and so exercised no suggestive influence. Thus Henning's results showed those who were unconsciously imitators and those who could do original thinking.

UNCONSCIOUS ERRORS

Ever since Roger Bacon gave his remarkable description of the pitfalls of human reason, the world has known that errors in human thinking are largely unconscious. Goethe described errors in hearing, writing, and print; more recently Meninger,¹⁴ in his book on errors in speech and reading, *Versprechen und Verlesen*, has given a great collection of common mistakes due chiefly to unconscious causes; and Freud,⁷ in his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, has attempted to explain errors of action as well as speech by the influence of unconscious wishes and prejudices; and Zillig²² quotes Kollarits, who describes the power of sympathy and antipathy, love and hate, in the experience of human beings, especially in the neurotic. All the recent experiments in regard to testimony, *Psychologie der Aussage*, have furnished many examples of unconscious errors. Zillig also cites Schorn, who has shown how the mental attitudes may cause falsification of what is heard; and Kleint, who has on the basis of attitudes created optical illusions; and Zillig herself has been able to produce characteristic errors by the attitude of the observer. (p. 59.)

Individuals who are introspective and those who reflect upon their own behavior often find themselves nonplussed by the acts they commit and the words

they utter under stress of certain emergencies, and even by the lapses of self-control that come to every one when relaxing or when absorbed in certain activities that engross attention and interest. One is surprised at times at one's reckless disregard of health and safety, both of oneself and of others; and in some the most astonishing thing of all is one's liability to reason erroneously, make false judgments, and be carried away by prejudice and self-interest. All this playing the fool is largely unconscious to the individual, but humiliating to self-respect and self-confidence. In all of us, however, the "mental blind spot" seems bound to function on occasion. Worst of all, we often find ourselves making erroneous observations of the actions of our companions and sometimes doing gross injustice.

The best method perhaps of discovering such unconscious attitudes and errors in normal persons, oneself and others, is experiment. One or two recent investigations will serve for concrete illustration.

Zillig's Studies

Zillig, as a teacher in a fourth-year girls' class in the People's School in Germany, had observed that some of the children had a very strong liking for their fellow pupils, while having an aversion to others, and she utilized this observation in her experiments. First, she had each of the ten-year-old girls write down the names of five children among their fellow playmates that they liked best. In this way she obtained a ranking of the affection of the separate pupils within the class. Naturally the children knew nothing of the aim of her actions nor the significance of the ranking. They also did not trouble themselves about this. On the following day

she placed five of those most frequently named, therefore those regarded most highly, and five of those least liked, in a line in front of the class, placing always a well liked child next to one that was not liked. Then she gave the following instructions to the class. "I am going to give the children who are placed here a short exercise in gymnastics. You must give accurate attention, like the children who are exercising.

"Attention. Right arm high. Arm down." The children stood ten seconds with raised arm.

In accord with privately given directions immediately before, the children that were well liked had been directed to raise the left arm contrary to the command given, and only the children not liked raised the right arm in accordance with the command. That is, the children liked performed the exercise wrong; the children not liked performed it correctly. Immediately after the exercise she required the class to write down those who had raised their arms correctly and those who had made an error. The names of the children whose performance could not be surely described were omitted.

On studying the results a somewhat remarkable fact in regard to the testimony of the children appeared. While true testimony would have mentioned only the children well liked as in error and only those not liked as correct in their performance, the results were far different. To those children well liked, not one of whom had carried out the exercise correctly, a higher percentage of correct performance was always ascribed than to those not liked; and although all those liked had made the erroneous movement, while no one of those not liked had done so, to those that were liked always a less percentage of wrong movements was ascribed than to those

not liked. The testimony of the observers contained a strong favoritism for those liked and a strong prejudice against those not liked. All the pupils, against their own wills, had succumbed to the influence of their sympathies and their antipathies, that is, the influence of an involuntary partisan attitude. That the children who gave their testimony had purposely favored those they liked at the expense of those they did not like, was a possibility excluded by Zillig, and further experiments justified this assumption.

These experiments, four in number, she announced in *the class each time as an exercise in correct testimony*. The aim of the exercise was a testimony completely free from error. By instruction to observe accurately and by warning to take foresight, a lively stimulus of ambition was aroused to produce testimony entirely free from error. Before every experiment Zillig emphasized also her own accurate knowledge of the actual facts. The experiments themselves were all prepared in a manner similar to the first experiments, and related to the same well liked or unliked children.

In other experiments another gymnastic exercise, namely, "Both arms high" was commanded. The children designated to carry out the *erroneous movement* were told to raise only one, namely, the right arm; and this in one experiment was entrusted to the children liked, and in another to those not liked. In still other experiments the raising of the right arm was again commanded. The wrong arm, namely the left, in one experiment, was to be raised by those liked and in another experiment by those not liked. Great care was taken to have these commands perfectly understood; and yet the outcome was a high percentage of error in regard

to the children where unconscious prejudice was involved.

An unconscious bias for what is old is common. Zillig found evidence of this as regards literature.

Bias for the Old.—Zillig experimented with adults, testing the influence of their unconscious prejudices in literature, especially by testing their ability to distinguish modern literature from older writings. In the latter experiment the subjects were university and other educated people. They were tested with passages of prose and poetry from modern and older writers. The passages of poetry, for example, were from well-known modern writers, and of the older literature eight selections from the fragmentary and confused texts of Hölderlin. Although the subjects made the tests honestly and entered gladly into the experiment, anxious to give critical judgment, nevertheless they showed surprising prejudice. These students inferred that since the passages from Hölderlin were obviously bad, they must be modern. Concretely it appeared that at least 70 per cent of every group judged Hölderlin's mystic verse as modern. And taken altogether, of the texts judged very modern almost six times as many were chosen from Hölderlin as from actually modern texts. Thus appears the prejudice against the modern.

Prejudices of Teachers.—Perhaps the most interesting of all these experiments by Zillig was a test of teachers in regard to their prejudices in favor of their own best pupils. Zillig requested eighteen teachers from the Peoples Schools to pick out their two best and their two poorest pupils, and she tested the thoroughness of their correction of errors in orthography. Her problem was to determine whether this sympathy for the superior

students would interfere with the correcting and marking of examination papers. Hence she noted especially the uncorrected errors that slipped by in the papers marked.

In the papers marked by one teacher all the errors were corrected, and so no data for comparison were found. In the papers of the other teachers, however, the uncorrected errors of the best students were counted and those of the poorest students. The result showed that a much higher percentage of uncorrected mistakes were found in the papers by the best students. This was the usual thing, and taking the results altogether *the total of errors overlooked was 38.7 per cent in case of the best pupils, only 12.3 per cent in case of the poorest pupils.*

Other experiments, those by Crosland,⁶ have shown that in the correction of a printed sheet, proof or the like, the relative accuracy of the correction is greater the fewer the number of errors contained in the printed matter, and the same would be true for what is written. The fact then that fewer mistakes were corrected in case of the best pupils, whose work contained the fewest errors, and more were overlooked than in case of the poorest pupils, indicates that the cause was the unconscious attitudes of the teachers.

What these attitudes were is suggested by Zillig. The result may have been due to the unconscious prejudice that teachers are apt to have in favor of their best students, and possibly a certain carelessness in correcting their papers due to the feeling that these students would make no mistakes, or to the more or less unconscious egoism of the teacher and a self-complacent feeling of elation at the success of their own teaching in case of such pupils.

The most important results of these experiments, both with children and adults, are summarized by Zillig in substance as follows:

1. Unconscious falsification of testimony on the basis of an involuntary party attitude can be shown experimentally in case both of children and adults. In all the experiments reported conscious errors on the part of the observers are excluded. Without their knowledge and against their will, the observers, in striving to enhance their own ego, were dependent on their sympathies and antipathies. These party attitudes were spontaneously active and in conflict with the effect of the opposite attitudes superimposed by the instruction of the experimenter and voluntarily assumed by the observers. It is always a question of narrowing of consciousness by suppression of the disagreeable. In the mental acts of perception, judgment, and memory, certain processes of selection corresponding to the prejudice occurred which made these acts one-sided and erroneous. A definite party attitude, becoming involuntarily active in a given situation, may be formed earlier consciously and voluntarily. The more often a party attitude is created voluntarily and the stronger the feelings and strivings contained in it, the easier on a given occasion can it become active against the will of the subject.

2. Low intelligence generally makes an individual more susceptible to an involuntary party attitude than high intelligence. Nevertheless high intelligence does not guarantee unconditionally slight susceptibility, nor does slight intelligence necessarily mean high susceptibility to the influence of involuntary party attitude. The best mental conditions for the least effect of such attitudes appears to be the union of high intelligence

with slight affectivity. Practice in testimony in regard to facts in general lessens the influence of involuntary attitudes, but it does not altogether remove it.

3. Simplicity, clearness of the subject to which the testimony pertains, thorough knowledge of the matter about which it is given, make it easier to give testimony unaffected by involuntary party attitude. Complication, ambiguity of the subject, defective knowledge of the matter, make this more difficult. Testimony given immediately after the close of the affair to be reported, is less endangered than later testimony in regard to what happened.

4. Two types are distinguished: the partisan and the nonpartisan type. The partisan type is more susceptible to influence by unconscious attitudes. Probably the nonpartisan type is less susceptible from the outset to sympathies and antipathies and little inclined to strive for the distinction of its own ego.

Practical Value of These Results.—Zillig rightly emphasizes the importance of these results in their practical application. They are important in regard to evidence in the law courts and the estimate of historical sources, where even the will to tell the truth does not exclude the influence of involuntary party attitudes, as Glagau⁸ has shown. Wherever also grades and reports are given, prizes allotted, punishment determined, there is danger that the involuntary party attitude will warp the judgment. Wherever individual men or groups of men are divided by natural or acquired antagonisms, as in case of the two sexes, youth and age, different religious groups, different philosophies, different political parties, different classes, different partisan nations, there is great probability that this involuntary attitude will create false

distinctions. Wherever criticism in life or science or art occurs, a real evaluation is endangered by such attitudes. All our human knowledge and our self-knowledge is rendered extremely difficult by the effect of them.

As Zillig points out, there are attitudes that seem to be superimposed upon the personality from the outset by the organization of human nature. These fundamental attitudes of the personality have wide influence on its expression. Many momentary attitudes, at first appearing to be quite independent, may be traced back to such a fundamental generic attitude. Such a fundamental attitude is imparted to the personality by the universal human striving for the furtherance of one's own self and the resistance to injuries, and likewise by the universal human tendency toward sympathies and antipathies. These fundamental attitudes Zillig calls party attitudes, since by them the adoption of a party for oneself, for or against others, can occur. Party attitudes are created by us voluntarily, but they can also, without our knowledge and against our will, influence our life. Of course these involuntary party attitudes are immensely important in testimony.

Zillig apparently does not go too far in taking the result found in her investigation as representative and expressing universal tendencies among human beings in any test or performance where personal interests, personal ambition, and the like, are involved. Nothing perhaps would be a better illustration of all this than the partisan prejudices shown in a political campaign, like that for President. Those who have already formed their judgment in regard to the choice of a candidate, and especially those who have already publicly announced their choice, show bias in their judgments

and estimates of the political writings, speeches of the candidates and the political stump speakers, newspaper articles, and the like, especially perhaps in their readiness to believe or condemn the rumors current in regard to the character and reliability of the statements made by opposing speakers. That such party attitudes and prejudices occur also in all social matters and especially in educational affairs, is a matter of common observation.

Similar partisan prejudices are shown in the professions, especially perhaps among physicians and teachers. Recently I heard a prominent physician say that some doctors are unconsciously influenced by the effect of certain things upon their pocketbooks; for example, if other physicians use certain serums, vaccines, and the like, one feels obliged to do the same for the sake of keeping up one's practice. This sounds bad, but in his opinion it is the truth. Physicians, of all professional men, are supposed to be self-sacrificing, and their custom proverbially has been to sacrifice their own interest professionally for the sake of preventing illness in their patients. If physicians are thus influenced by unconscious attitudes and prejudices, teachers are likely to be as well; and it is not strange that their pupils show similar prejudices, as the direct evidence furnished by Zillig indicates.

Affective Attitudes

In general it may be said that however poignant our feelings may be at certain times, the background of them, our affective attitudes, are largely unconscious. We do not know their presence, we are not aware how they influence our feeling and our behavior. We have few if any objective tests for them. Their vast impor-

tance, however, in the personality of the individual seems to be amply shown. In regard to the more intensely emotional attitudes and the great problems of life and work, it seems hard to take an objective scientific view and easy to make prejudiced judgments and to resort to rationalization.

Nothing perhaps is more common than unconscious or subconscious fears and worries. For example, the deep-seated attitude of anxiety and strain that an individual may have about a case of illness in a member of the family or a serious situation in business or the like, may not be recognized; but when the crisis is passed one realizes how intense was the strain or how great the fear, although not aware of it at the time. Equally common perhaps are many other unconscious attitudes—inhibitions, taboos, antipathies, mannerisms, and egoistic peculiarities.

Unconscious Stimuli and Responses

Besides the surprising attitudes, prejudices, and the like, that may be brought out by experimental studies like those of Zillig, a thousand minor stimuli and a thousand responses occur in the daily experience of every one. Some of these are conscious, most of them are unconscious, or at least seldom brought into clear consciousness. Some of them occur in the individual's experience when alone, others occur in relation to one's companions.

Of these minor stimuli and responses those of which we are conscious suggest the significance of them all. They concern the simplest situations of daily life. Although trivial, their effect on the individual is often apparent. The knitted brow, the contraction of the facial muscles, the smile of humor or content, the gesture of

approval or annoyance, *all the muscular responses that are the index of the mental attitudes and the subtle expressions of satisfaction or irritation; such are signs of the well-known results on the individual's mood of euphoria or dysphoria.*

It should be emphasized that such stimuli and responses concern ordinary experience. On the one hand, in the individual the faults of coördination in dressing, resulting in the dropping of articles of the toilet, the misplacing of clothing, the loss of buttons, spectacles, and the like; and in the domestic and social situations, the trivial mistakes, the accidents and petty annoyances of the breakfast table, the disliked cereal, the undercooked waffles or burned biscuit; and later in the day, friction, the tactless words, the petty blunders, accidents and mistakes in relation to the people one meets; all these are examples.

On the other hand is the thrill of favorable morning conditions, sunshine, air, the beauty of flowers, the aroma of the grass and foliage, the zest of the morning bath and exercise, the satisfaction of a wholesome breakfast of well cooked food, the social stimulus of the family group, and all the increments of pleasure from purposive activity, cordial greetings, the day's task, and the stimulus and inspiration of coworkers and companions. All these largely determine not merely success or failure, whether the day is utterly spoiled or gives a healthful stimulus; but in a still more subtle and unconscious manner, these largely condition what we have called the mental metabolism of the individual.

From the consideration of such facts the significance of unconscious processes for the mental health is clear. To see their importance it is not necessary to personify

an unconscious intelligence that works with uncanny cleverness to thwart and inhibit conscious plans, or to give special examples of the great unconscious urges that favorably condition human life.

UNCONSCIOUS ATTITUDES OF PARENTS

The influence of our unconscious attitudes in relation to our friends and the members of our own family is proverbial. This is shown, not only by such experiments as those of Zillig, but by everyday observation. Here especially it is difficult for any one, even the best educated, to take a strictly scientific and objective attitude. Parents especially are unable to do this.

In the abnormal, both children and adults, unconscious attitudes play a great rôle. A vast literature on pathological cases gives manifold examples. To this we need not give attention here. Helpful books on abnormal children are easily accessible.^{10, 15} The unconscious attitude of parents toward their own unusual or pathological children is often a strange one. A single illustration will suffice. The following reported by Dr. Olive Cooper⁵ is fairly representative:

Louise, aged 8, had been referred to the Habit Clinic because of a marked change in personality. This was first noticed following a severe burn about the face and neck sustained eighteen months prior to her first clinic visit. According to the history as given by the mother, Louise had become an outstanding personality in the household by reason of her unhappiness characterized by whining, fretfulness, and constant fault-finding. She could not play well with the children, ever tattling about them, and was particularly critical of her younger brother. She never failed to create a scene at meal times if the menu was not a palatable one for her, and occasionally she vomited following it. The simplest command was sure to be followed by

fussing, fretting, and long periods of scolding those about her. She appeared to her mother to be extremely self-conscious of her burn and always tried to conceal it when meeting someone for the first time. . . . The mother, in the case, was an attractive and exceptionally intelligent woman who, like her husband, was not interested in children and had never desired any. To repeat the mother's exact words, "We took her as our punishment. . . ." The youngest member of the family was a three-year-old boy whom the mother openly proclaimed as her favorite because, as she rationalized it, he was diametrically different from the patient, and quite similar to herself in make-up. She had found in him a common bond of understanding that made for a delightful congeniality between them, but, on the other hand, a relationship that made her acutely aware of her lack of affection for the patient as it tended to magnify the latter's unprepossessing personality (unprepossessing as she saw it). To quote the mother, "She is so different from me that I cannot understand her and never hope to be able to. . . ." One of the outstanding features in the case seemed to be a divided household composed of the father, mother and the boy on the one side, with the grandmother and the patient fighting a losing battle on the other side. The patient had been an unwelcome personality in the home and had been more permanently put upon the shelf at the arrival of her younger brother, who had, from birth, held the entire interest of the family and also the interest of their friends, to whom he was always presented as a refreshing contrast to the patient. This meant exclusion of the latter from the little corner she held, however obscure, to a point which was even more so. [pp. 21-23.]

The appearance of the burn was extremely repulsive to the æsthetic attitude of the mother. The physician attempted to show that they were dealing not with an acute personality that was produced by the burn but by a change of gradual growth from the early life of the child. As a means of cure the attempt was made to reconstruct the family attitude, especially in case of the mother,

who had largely colored her husband's attitude toward the child.

Although this case is unusual in the particular accident that brought into strong light the attitude of the mother, it is representative of the unconscious or partly conscious attitudes of multitudes of parents. It is unnecessary to multiply examples. To give an adequate account of the injurious and largely unconscious attitudes of parents would mean to write a large part of the genetic history of human folly and human crime.

Unconscious Folly

Even with sensible and highly intelligent people the possible tragedies of the unconscious attitudes cannot, of course, be ignored. The reflective person thinks of the mistakes sure to result from some of these attitudes of which we know little or nothing. One may well be appalled in considering the blunders, errors, and injustice of which we may be guilty without at all being aware of them. The unconscious folly of the individual may well convince one that the poet Sill¹⁹ was right when he wrote:

'Tis not by guilt the onward sweep
Of truth and right, Oh Lord, we stay;
'Tis by our follies that so long
We hold the earth from heaven away. [p. 63.]

This is illustrated more concretely by the great number of prejudices and mental twists of emotional character that every individual has in greater or less degree. The common superstitions merely show the grosser and more obvious errors of this kind, and they are matched by individual twists likely to be the special pets of the individual. A study of such errors and attitudes would

reward the student quite as richly as the study of superstitions and the like has done.

Reflection on such facts may well cause a profound sense of humility and at times a sense of inferiority, especially with those whose calling makes them have great responsibilities and dealings with their fellow men, for example, physicians and judges. Teachers, too, with the best intentions in the world are often guilty of gross injustice; and pupils, children and youth alike, again and again hurt their companions and yet are quite innocent of it all. It is only by careful objective study, and especially by the experimental method, that we learn the most serious of our unconscious faults and the most dangerous of the pitfalls to human reason.

In this, as in all studies of personality, one is impressed with the fact that we know so little about the whole subject. An investigation like that of Zillig's does little more than to open up a lot of new problems that might be the subject of further investigation. This study, however, has shown a method by which unconscious or partly conscious mental attitudes may be studied experimentally, and it suggests also many aspects of personality that may well be made the subject of observation by individual teachers and others.

The practical value of such experiments to the individual is probably much greater than most people would suppose. It has long been known that the revelation to oneself of a definite mental attitude is likely to have an effect upon it. To learn of the actual possession of a partisan attitude or prejudice of any kind sufficient to cause actual error is, at least to scientifically trained students, a great help in estimating one's personal equation.

Unconscious Social Attitudes

Of all our unconscious characteristics none perhaps are more subtle in their influence for health than the unconscious survivals of childish attitudes. On the one hand, how charming is the survival of childhood interest in the simple activity of the group and in everyday doings, however commonplace, the frank enjoyment of life and health, the equally genuine spontaneous performance of little courtesies and kindnesses; and withal, the reserve and humility of the individual in deference to the group itself.

On the other hand, any of the egoistic attitudes of childhood are liable to survive. To understand how common these are one has only to observe in any social group of adults, where the individual members feel unconstrained and talk freely, how much like children they all are, how each tells of his own accomplishments, magnifies his own ego, defends himself by blaming others, but resents any attempt by others, however politely made, to dominate the group or to show off as superior, how sensitive to criticism every one is; and again how surprising is the childlike conceit of knowledge and how alarming the lack of intelligent ignorance and desire to learn; in general, the poverty of the group in knowledge and its wealth in opinion.

All this egoism or humility, all this pedantic trivial self-interest, or this courteous kindness, is usually naively and often grotesquely unconscious.

Thus one of the best ways to study unconscious attitudes is in a social group; and on the other hand, one of the best ways to study society is to study unconscious social attitudes. It is a rather familiar fact that toward

certain people we have deep-seated antipathies of which we are unconscious, and also affection for certain others *without being aware of it*. Besides this, however, many subtle unconscious attitudes are significant in our social relations. For example, many persons have a fear of certain individuals. Shyness we are apt to call it. Others have distrust or suspicion of certain companions without being aware of it; and again all of us perhaps have a tendency to criticize certain persons, are unwilling to co-operate with them, are bound to misunderstand them, and cannot judge their work justly. The individual differences in these unconscious social attitudes are as great perhaps as the wide individual variation in personality itself.

So with many other unconscious attitudes, not only those that are egoistic and injurious, but also those wholesome attitudes that condition good breeding, social poise, and coöperation.

It is much easier to perceive these unconscious attitudes, especially the unwholesome ones, in others than to discover them in oneself. Many years ago the famous cartoonist Nast, if I mistake not, was employed for a peculiar task by a host who was about to give a reception. Nast made cartoons of all those invited. At the reception each guest recognized the pictures of his friends with roars of laughter, until he came to his own; then he failed to see the fitness of the caricature.

In like manner if some superior draftsman could portray the unconscious attitudes in any social group, probably each individual member might be able to locate each picture in some one, but not in himself.

All this is what makes the study of society so com-

plex, and the study of the relation of oneself to any social group difficult or impossible, but instructive.

Being Oneself

A slogan that seems to have some vogue among smart people, or at least did have a few years ago, is "Be yourself." Like many other exhortations of the ready maxim-maker, this is a plausible, and to many people, an attractive motto. Many pride themselves on acting as they feel, expressing their own impulses and doing what they like to do; and some wish to do nothing else.

As a matter of fact it would seem to be an excellent maxim, were it possible to know what one's self is. Few people know this. Some at adolescence do discover themselves, yet it is doubtful if even the most ardent and clear thinking adolescent does really get any adequate view of self. Few even of the wise, from Socrates down, have been able to achieve this aim of self-knowledge.

Although it is so difficult to know oneself, it is apparently quite as difficult to be oneself. Of course by the practice of a subtle dialectic one may learn something of what an individual calls self, and practice what one calls being oneself. But the self, as it expresses itself in one's behavior, is likely to be far from any realization of self; and those who boast that they follow this maxim of self-realization are likely to convince themselves merely by a process of specious rationalization. They do certain things under the stress of external circumstances, and then easily find excuses for their action as means of self-expression.

Masks and Reality.—In education we meet a strange paradox. The aim of education is to teach the truth, but in all education from early days the tendency to

wear a mask seems to have been almost universal. To analyze the causes of this would be difficult. The presentation of some of the significant facts may, however, throw light on the development of this tendency. Whatever its significance in education, the importance of this fact for mental hygiene is great.

The most obvious manifestation of the tendency to employ masks in education is the fact that education is always conventional. The aim of education is to teach human customs and to give children training in both conventional learning and conventional behavior. This perhaps is the great reason that the habit of using masks in the schools is so common. But the whole matter is by no means so simple as this, as appears from many more or less familiar facts.

Another reason, perhaps the chief reason, that the wearing of masks is so common among educated people is because the training in the schools is itself largely training in the wearing of masks cleverly. In the ordinary recitation, for example, as Colin Scott pointed out, the teacher, who knows all about a subject, asks questions of a pupil who knows little about it. This is rather an absurd situation, which does not altogether escape the observation of bright pupils. They are well aware that the questions are asked not because the teacher desires information, but rather to show the ignorance of the pupils. They soon find that a clever bluff is sometimes better than a knowledge of facts. Hence from the early grades of school life up to the time of graduation from college a premium is placed upon wearing the academic mask cleverly.

In modern times, not to go farther back, we find teachers have been habitually prone to wear masks; and

a common, perhaps universal, pose has been that of omniscience. During a thousand years Capella's *Satyricon*, or one of the other great handbooks of universal knowledge of the Middle Ages, was the textbook, and contained all necessary knowledge. In regard to this the teacher was supposed to know everything; and as compared with the knowledge required of the teacher to-day, it was a relatively simple task. Naturally enough the omniscient pose developed, and it has survived largely into modern times. Teachers who have lacked knowledge have often been the most apt to assume the omniscient pose, and on account of the lack of knowledge in their pupils it has not been difficult to maintain this academic bluff.

The artificial and prolific questioning of many teachers is amazing; and some never hesitate to carry this to an extreme, sometimes resorting even to a kind of third degree. On the other hand, when pupils question their instructors, some teachers have the habit of always answering promptly, making snap judgments and hasty statements, and then bolstering them up by whatever arguments they can find on the spur of the moment. As regards the really serious matters of training, the matters of individual study, the pupil's conduct, and the more intimate matters of behavior, the things really significant for the development of character and personality, this is perhaps the most vicious form of academic bluff.

Time would fail and the reader weary at any complete account of the rôle of the scholastic mask in methods of teaching, in the description of programs and schools, the practice of executive officers, the reports of graduations, degrees, and the general camouflage of faults and exaltation of the merits of academic institutions of every kind.

The Mask in High Schools.—As soon as higher schools and more advanced forms of education were developed in the history of civilization, rivalry soon developed also and the aim of many schools became largely that of becoming superior to other schools of the same kind. All through the history of higher education we find high schools and universities striving to excel their rivals, and inevitably the tendency to exploit their own excellencies and camouflage their own defects appeared. Thus all through the period of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages we have this illustrated in the great debates and disputations between different schools and different teachers.

Seumas McManus,²³ in his story of the debate arranged between the great High School of London and the great High School of Dublin, however mythical the description may be, has given an interesting illustration of this rivalry, and suggested what seems to be the fact that the bluff academic is of ancient origin.

In the writer's experience as a member of a university faculty perhaps the question he was most frequently asked was, "How many students have you?" In this the public seemed especially interested; and in academic institutions, especially in the smaller colleges, there is a temptation to desire a long list. Since in most higher institutions there are a number of departments, and special students are very apt to be enrolled in more than one, it is easy to pad the rolls and get more students in the school than there are human beings attending it. Sometimes to real scholars the mere custom of calling all the members of a college—the dawdlers, laggards, and those with merely sport and social interests—students, is repugnant. To them the answer given recently by a boy in a western college will seem refreshingly truthful.

Asked the usual question, "How many students are there in your college?" the reply was, "About one in ten."

Masks Universal.—Masks are not more common in the academic world than elsewhere, but rather less; although academic training has perhaps made the wearing of masks more respectable and more helpful. How inveterate and well-nigh universal is this habit, and how frequently people are unconscious of their real attitudes, has been noted in a deeply significant passage by Santayana.¹⁸ He notes that it is a characteristic of ordinary people. The characters of Dickens unmask the world. Of this he says:

At this the polite world pretends to laugh, not tolerantly as it does at humour, but a little angrily. It does not like to see itself by chance in the glass, without having had time to compose its features for demure self-contemplation. "What a bad mirror," it exclaims; "it must be concave or convex; for surely I never looked like that. Mere caricature, farce, and horse play. Dickens exaggerates; I never was so sentimental as that; I never saw anything so dreadful; I don't believe there were ever any people like Quilp, or Squeers, or Serjeant Buzfuz." But the polite world is lying; there are such people; we are such people ourselves in our true moments, in our veritable impulses; but we are careful to stifle and to hide those moments from ourselves and from the world, to purse and pucker ourselves into the mask of our conventional personality; and so simpering, we profess that it is very coarse and inartistic of Dickens to undo our life's work for us in an instant, and remind us of what we are. And as to other people, though we may allow that considered superficially they are often absurd, we do not wish to dwell on their eccentricities, nor to mimic them. On the contrary, it is good manners to look away quickly, to suppress a smile. . . . That may fairly represent the moral condition of most of us at most times; but we do not want to think of it; we do not want to see; we gloss the fact over; we console ourselves before we are grieved, but

ness, or it breaks out in some shy indirect fashion, as in perpetual joking.

Danger from Unconscious Tendencies

The subtle danger from such unconscious tendencies, prejudices and attitudes, is the very fact that those who have them usually know nothing about them. Thus all of us are undoubtedly handicapped by serious inhibitions, and only in rare moments of inspiration or by rigorous correction of our personal emotional equations attain some temporary dissociation and freedom of thought.

Vague and imaginary as these unconscious attitudes may appear, they are, however, by no means a mere matter of phantasy. Their reality is shown by laboratory studies of conditioned reflexes, by experimental investigations, like those of Zillig, and by a great multitude of clinical observations. They constitute a factor, indefinite, to be sure, but important for the health of the personality. Just as a business man who would win success must reckon, not only with his definite assets and liabilities, but also with an indefinite liability factor, and is in danger of failure unless he does this, so one who would safeguard health must likewise reckon with this indefinite factor conditioned by such unconscious attitudes. It may well be added that one general form of insurance against disaster from this indefinite factor is the ability to preserve one's sense of humor, one's mental perspective, and the objective attitude.

Detachment in Thinking

The importance of discovering our own unconscious attitudes of prejudice and slavery to convention is obvious. It is, however, especially emphasized by the ex-

ample of certain great men who have been able to make important discoveries and contribute to the sum of human knowledge from the very fact that they were able to dissociate their thinking from the prejudices and conventional attitudes by which they were, like other men, handicapped. A number of the great men of history could be cited as illustrations. All the great discoveries by leaders among primitive men and among the ancients of pre-Christian times were probably examples.

The life and teaching of Jesus gave outstanding illustration of this type of personality, notably by the fact that he was free from the ordinary human prejudices against foreigners and could dissociate his thinking and his practice from the conventional bias of his countrymen and the traditional Jewish teaching. In modern times an outstanding illustration is Helmholtz. His great discovery of the rate of the nervous impulse he made because he could dissociate his thinking from the authoritative view of his time expressed by the great physiologist, Jobannes Müller, who said that the rate of the nervous impulse was infinitesimal—*unendlich klein und unmessbar*. Even more remarkable is Einstein's doctrine of relativity, that he could formulate because in his thinking he was able to achieve an audacious freedom from the conventional belief in the law of gravitation and similar traditional views.

The significant examples of unconscious attitudes cited will serve as illustrations of many others that might profitably be made the subject of observation and study—personal idiosyncrasies, pedantic tendencies, sources of belief and of error.

One important matter remains to be mentioned. In most people, as everybody knows, there is an unconscious

slavery to convention in belief and attitude. To be unconventional does not, as some super-morons seem to think, make one great. To be free from convention is not even a mark of greatness; but if an individual is superior, freedom from slavery to conventional beliefs and attitudes seems to mean freedom from serious inhibitions that often check investigation and discovery.

Egoism, conceit of knowledge, even our fears and sense of inadequacy also, are very apt to be unknown to us. To discover any of these is usually helpful.

SUMMARY

1. Although in this chapter no attempt has been made to give an account of the elaborate Freudian system of the unconscious, illustrations have been cited of many attitudes and tendencies that are unknown to the individuals who have them.

2. Henning, in experiments with students, found some with an unconscious tendency to imitate in drawings and the like.

3. Zillig, in experiments with school children and adults, found definite concrete effects of unconscious partisan spirit and prejudice.

4. In the thinking and behavior of people a vast number of peculiarities in speech, reading, gesture, social behavior, errors in thinking, and the like appear, which are quite unconscious to the individuals who show them.

5. Especially in regard to conventional thought, belief, customs, and the like, an unconscious influence appears. Freedom from this slavery in the case of certain superior men seems to have been the condition that made great discoveries possible. This apparently furnishes a bit of evidence for the view that the genius owes his superiority

not so much to greater ability as to a freedom from inhibitions by which other men are handicapped.

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CHAPTER V

PERSONALITY DIFFERENCES

THE wide range of individual variation in human personality has already been noted. All the many studies, scientific and literary, and all reports of observation and introspection emphasize this variation. So important is this fact in all theoretical investigation and in all practical hygienic and educational applications of our knowledge that a chapter may well be devoted to illustration of some of the many special studies that throw light upon this subject.

Definitions.—The usual definition of human personality is the sum total of an individual's reaction tendencies. Many definitions of personality have been made emphasizing different mental powers and functions. All perhaps who are concerned with the mental health and the healthful development of the personality agree in emphasizing a certain unity and coördination. Many emphasize directly or indirectly an active relation of the individual to society as involved in the term. Bekhterev's ⁶ definition is a useful one as emphasizing this important relation. It is as follows: "The personality, objectively considered, is a freely active individual with mental uniqueness (*Eigenart*), and an individual relation toward the external world." (p. 38.)

Bekhterev has discussed also some of the conditions that favor or check the development of the personality. He notes that repression tends to pathological develop-

ments, and that drugs, alcohol, and social stagnation all tend to injure development. On the other hand, among conditions favorable to healthful development are a moderate climate, a high level of public hygiene, favorable economic conditions, education, and a favorable social environment in general.

Personality and Character.—The terms personality and character are often confused. While we have no very clear-cut definitions and distinctions, there is perhaps a fairly good consensus in regard to the meaning of the words. The former term is used apparently more to designate the make-up of the individual as regards mental attitudes and the like; the latter, with reference to behavior. Perhaps no two writers would agree altogether; but for a provisional distinction we may well take that given by Ogden⁵² as convenient: personality is the expression for a man's inner life, while character is the expression for what he does. The word *personality* represents perhaps to most people the degree of richness and fullness of a man's individuality, whereas character denotes one's will power, persistence, and the like. Both personality and character are largely social evaluations. They are not correlative. A rich personality, for example, as Ogden has pointed out, is not necessarily associated with a strong character; and a strong character, on the other hand, may be associated with a meager personality.

We may add that the term personality is coming to be used more and more for the totality of an individual's abilities and traits. Also the relation of the individual to society, emphasized in Bekhterev's definition, is made still more prominent by some psychologists to-day. May⁵³ defines personality as "the individual's social stimulus value." All that is needed for our present pur-

pose is a general distinction of outstanding characteristics.

Psychology, education, history, culture, mental hygiene, and religion, all put emphasis on human personality. In some countries during certain periods of history, the development and refinement of human personality has been the great goal of general education and culture. In all countries during all periods, personality has been, usually perhaps unconsciously, the potent characteristic of leaders. In recent years educators have been fairly unanimous in consciously proclaiming this as an essential qualification for the good teacher. Now educators are beginning to emphasize the sacred significance of the pupil's personality. And mental hygiene looks upon a wholesome personality as a prime condition of mental health.

The essential characteristic of a wholesome personality, as already noted, is integration. This is involved in the term wholesome itself; of all the vocabulary of health, wholesomeness is the oldest, the most essential, and the most pregnant, term descriptive of the normal personality.

Smuts,⁴⁵ in his remarkable discussion of holism, describes human personality as the most significant of all forms of integration, "The whole of all wholes"; and a recent German writer, Marcuse,⁴⁶ recognizing the complexity of personality, defines it by saying, "Personality is the convergence of all essential cultural tendencies in one mind."

Conflicting as are the different opinions, little as we know about personality, complex as the whole matter is, and hopeless as the attempt to make significant quantitative studies may appear, one aspect of the subject, vastly important for mental hygiene, has been studied

with suggestive and helpful results, namely, the individual differences, especially those in children.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES IN PERSONALITY

The individual differences among children, both in physical and mental make-up, as everybody knows, are great. On the basis of these differences various classifications have been made. Although there are no rigorously defined types, for the practical purposes of education and hygiene it is convenient often to use the term type for the outstanding classes of child personality. Naturally the study of differences of personality in children should profit by the investigations made among adults.

Kraepelin's Studies.—The first outstanding modern scientific student of human personality in relation to mental health was the great German psychiatrist, Kraepelin;³⁷ and perhaps his greatest contribution was the classification of mental disorders into two groups of psychoses—the so-called manic-depressive and the schizophrenic, the former exhibiting periodic alternations between conditions of excitement or mania and periods of gloom and depression, the latter being characterized by splitting up or disintegration of the personality.

The Pyknic and the Asthenic.—On the basis of Kraepelin's work Kretschmer⁴¹ made a study of 400 cases of mental disorder, to determine whether there is a correlation between the fundamental disorder and the physical make-up of the individual, whether these two classes distinguished by Kraepelin each exhibits characteristic physical features that can be definitely observed and measured. The result of this study was the distinction of three types: first, the pyknic type—of middle height,

well rounded figure, broad face, large neck, deep chest, and soft rounded limbs, with delicate, soft, short and wide hands; second, the asthenic type—characterized in part by a deficiency in thickness, but by unusual growth of all parts of the body, more concretely, the lean, slender man, who looks taller than he is, with narrow shoulders, lean arms, thin muscles, and delicately boned hands, narrow flat chest, and general deficiency of fat; third, besides these, naturally a mixed type is found.

These are the fundamental differences of physical type according to Kretschmer, although he does distinguish also the athletic type; and of course there are variations of the typical characteristics.

The Relation Between Physical Structure and Mental Type.—Perhaps the most convincing evidence of the fact that physical structure is an important condition of the mental health comes from Kretschmer's study of the different psychoses and the relation that he found between them and the physical character of the individual. In the 400 cases studied by him were 60 of the pyknic type; of these, 58 suffering from manic-depressive disorder, and only 2 of this type suffering from schizophrenic psychoses; whereas on the other hand, of the 85 cases of the asthenic type only 4 suffered from manic-depressive disorders, but 81 from schizophrenic. Thus no one apparently can greatly doubt the correlation between the pyknic type and manic-depressive disorders, and the asthenic type and schizophrenic disorders.

The Cyclothyme and the Schizothyme.—Kretschmer further studied ordinary men and distinguished two temperaments among them, corresponding to the mental disorders just mentioned; that is, average men divide into similar classes, or, as he calls them, cyclothymes (the

pyknic type) and schizothymes (the asthenic type). This classification, as White²¹ has pointed out, corresponds more or less to many other attempts at type distinction, among which he mentions the following: "Ostwald's romanticists and classicists; Nietzsche's di-onysians and apollonians; William James' tough-minded and tender-minded; William Blake's prolific and devouring; Otto Gross' inferiority with shallow consciousness and inferiority with contracted consciousness; Jung's extraverted and introverted; and Bleuler's syntonics and schizoids." (p. 137.)

In turn the two main types of personality distinguished by Kraepelin and by Kretschmer may naturally be subdivided. Of the cyclothyme Kraepelin distinguished four principal varieties: first, the manic-depressive make-up; second, the depressive; third, the irascible; and fourth, the emotionally unstable.

Again the schizothyme or autistic personality, so called, is the constitutional basis on which the schizophrenic psychoses develop; and of these also there are a number of varieties. The fundamental trait of this type of personality is perhaps in general the narrowing of external interests and contacts and preoccupation with inward reflections.

Recently the results of Kretschmer's work in relation to those of his followers have been subjected to critical study by Laura Polen.²² They stand this critical test well. She concludes that the body types found by Kretschmer seem to exist and that his mental types are established. She finds further that the weight of opinion is strongly in support of him, and that in spite of the negative results found by Kolle²³ we can say that the affinity between the pyknic type and the circular psy-

choices is almost universally recognized. The weight of evidence seems to indicate that at least for the pyknic type there is a high correlation between physical structure and the cyclothyme temperament. An excellent bibliography is added to Polen's paper.

THE SOCIALLY AND MECHANICALLY INCLINED

From a sociological point of view Freyd²⁰ has studied the personality correlates of interest and ability: (1) in handling or motivating human beings; and (2) in handling machines or inanimate objects; and the question, to what extent these differences signify types or extremes of personality. The subjects studied were mechanics, students, and salesmen.

The result of Freyd's study leads him to the statement that "There is nothing in the results submitted to prove the existence of types of peoples, rather can we conclude that extremes exist with regard to any trait or combination of traits." Thus the investigation is suggestive rather than demonstrative. Further study is needed.

In regard to his own special problem his conclusions are: First, that the mechanically inclined men are more often handicapped in their adaptation to society, and contented therefore to enter occupations where mechanical rather than social ability is of prime importance.

Second, that the early family history of the mechanically inclined man points to a less healthful and cheerful environment than that of the salesman. It would seem that the mechanics students were dissatisfied with the status of their families, the characteristics of their companions, and the generally cheerless tone of their environment.

Third, maternal influence seems to have been exerted predominantly on the mechanically inclined men and paternal influence on the salesmen. Without attempting any complete explanation Freyd thinks the conclusion warranted that the mechanics student was early rehuffed by his human environment, owing perhaps to a greater mechanical than social intelligence, and subjected himself largely to his mother; and that the same factors that caused the mechanics student to be attached to his mother, gave rise to his personality traits and caused him to enter a mechanical occupation.

Fourth, a large percentage of men of mechanical tendencies were, however, of native stock. They lacked in social ability and possessed mechanical ability, while the salesmen possessed social ability and lacked mechanical ability.

Fifth, one of the traits displayed by the mechanics students may be compensatory, namely, conceit. A realization on the part of many of the mechanics students that they lacked social ability may have caused them at least to assume the attitude of possessing these traits. "Conceit is a typical compensatory attitude. Incredulity may in a sense be compensatory." It is easy to find examples of compensation among the salesmen, since it is lack of social adaptation that is usually compensated for. Lack of mechanical ability would be less often a cause of social maladaptation than lack of sociability; and the realization that one is poorly adapted socially gives rise to compensation. (pp. 96-99.)

TYPE STUDIES OF CHILDREN

It should be remembered that in all distinctions of type we are merely dealing with individual differences

and rough division into classes. Two different types or 2,000 different types might be made. It is a mere matter of making some classification as an economic device. Usually it is convenient to make these rough divisions into so-called types; especially the himodal type with naturally a mixed type. In some cases like Kretschmer's types, certain fundamental characteristics in physical structure and in mental make-up seem to be closely correlated.

We have relatively few quantitative studies of individual differences and of so-called types among children, but an important beginning has been made. Among important recent studies is that by Krasusky,³⁸ to determine how far the main distinction of types by Kretschmer is true among children. The latter made his investigation among adults, and expressed the view that these fundamental types are not sharply distinguished among children.

Krasusky's Study of Children.—Krasusky,³⁸ however, on the basis of a careful study of 100 children, has found evidence that Kretschmer's types are clearly recognizable from early years, perhaps in some cases even more clearly than among adults. The subjects studied by him were children in Odessa of school age, from eight to fifteen years. Kretschmer's physical signs of the two types were adopted. More specific rubrics and a more definite plan were used for the mental characteristics. Fifty-seven per cent of the cases observed were clearly of one or the other of Kretschmer's types, that is, 29 per cent of the pyknic, 28 per cent of the asthenic type, the rest, 43 per cent, of the mixed type. Of the latter, 20 per cent were predominantly of the pyknic, 23 per cent of the asthenic type.

The Types Among Children.—The typical pyknic type with children shows a five-cornered, broad, low face; with this a large skull in the frontal measurement and a comparatively small one in the lower and middle part of the face. The forehead is usually arched, large and broad, whereas in the asthenic type it is low and small, with small round face and small frontal measurement of the skull in comparison to that of the pyknic, and long form of the middle and lower part of the face. The nose in the pyknic type is broad and flat, with the asthenic, long and small.

Of the 100 school children tested by Krasusky, the average height of the forehead was, in case of the pyknic, 59.5 mm., in case of the asthenic, 53.2 mm. The length of the nose in the pyknic was 39.1 mm., in the asthenic, 42 mm.; the measurement of the chest in the pyknic, 68.3 cm., in case of the asthenic 63.1 cm. These represent some of the more marked differences between the two types.

This difference of type is so well marked, in many cases at least, that after a little practice one observes it at a glance. Even children often do this, and the nicknames given by the children are likely to fit the type. Thus "frog" is a common nickname for a child of the pyknic type; "little fox," "heron," "slim," or the like, for one of the asthenic type.

Differences of Character.—The differences of character and personality corresponding to these physical types are distinguished by Krasusky²⁸ as by Kretschmer into the cyclothyme for the pyknic, and the schizothyme for the asthenic bodily type. (pp. 28-29.)

Concrete examples of these types given by Krasusky furnish an interesting illustration of the difference. The

two cases given, a brother and a sister, are quite the antipodes in body and character.

The boy is Boris K., eleven years of age, of representative pyknic type, with the characteristic five-cornered frontal outline of the face, well nourished, stocky, broad shouldered, short. Of good character, yielding, amiable, attentive, genial, he gladly shares whatever he has with others, he is gently and kindly spoken. If he has accidentally hurt his kitten, he feels guilty, kisses it, and fondles it; he always sleeps with it, and is troubled if adults deprive him of this pleasure. Besides, he is patient, persistent, enduring. If he cries he does it quietly, scarcely sobbing. He is a stranger to any revenge, simple, scarcely smiling, and using no humorous words, but he stimulates laughter on the part of his companions.

The girl is Eugenie K., nine years old, with small, long, thin face, small chest, of tubercular appearance, and representatively characteristic of the pure asthenic type. In character she is a sentimental child, can be very kind or the opposite, hard even to the limit of forgetfulness. In her friendship with her companions she is selective, not friendly with all; and even among her friends she prefers now this one and then another. Why she does thus and not otherwise in regard to her friendships, she tells no one, and otherwise tells nothing of what goes on in her little head. While in temper she is liable to make an angry fight; afterwards she shows *no inclination to penitence*; and to any criticism that one should not behave in this way, the answer is nothing but stubborn silence. Characteristic also is a great nervousness, and crying with shrieks and nervous sobbing.

These characteristics are illustrated by a slight occurrence in the life of these two children. Eugenie demands emphatically from Boris a toy belonging to her. Boris keeps silent, perhaps undecided in his attitude toward Eugenie, without, however, giving her the toy. After repeating her demand, Eugenie flies into a passion, and hits Boris in the stomach. The teacher, coming upon them, with a characteristic anger of her own, punishes Eugenie and says to Boris, "Why do you keep quiet, you ought to have hit her yourself so that she would not touch you another time." But she did not press these thoughtlessly spoken words; for she heard the calm answer of Boris, "I should perhaps have done so, but I was sorry for her." (pp. 28-29.)

The Cyclothyme Type.—On the basis of his own investigations Krasusky describes the mental characteristics corresponding to these physical types in substance as follows:

The cyclothyme type is characterized as varying in predominant moods from cheerful and joyous through all gradations to gloomy and depressed; with ready, emotional excitability, an inclination to express joy and sorrow, subject to angry flareups, but soon oneself again and penitent for one's behavior and speech; marked by indecision; varying with different moods. In a group with a tendency to an expansive mood, a quicker rhythm of mental imagery; in a group with tendency to depression, a slower rhythm and confusion of imagery; in a group with the tendency to the expansive mood, fluency of speech; in a group with tendency to depression, poverty of words; is characterized also by humor, altruistic actions, ability to domi-

nate, tendency to dependence, sociability, good heartedness; objective, realistic, direct in action; upright, straightforward, upstanding, with no doubts, does everything wholeheartedly; and in more expansive moods, lively and energetic.

The Schizothyme Type.—The characteristics belonging to the schizothyme type vary from nervous excitement to dull, depressed moods with all grades between. General arrest of emotional excitement, tendency to suppress both joy and sorrow, bad while in anger, seldom sorry for what has been done; consciously trying for a goal; active in organization of the group in case of a share by the individual; rich and clear imagination with material of creative images or with characteristic antagonism shut up in one's own self; subjectivity, tendency to phantasy, absence of directness in thought and behavior, variation from nervous excited talking to dull obstinate silence; absence of direct humor; egoism in action, keenness of thought for self-preservation, heightened self-love; love for others often superficial, dependability usually slight, a selective sociability, violence, coldness; acts as reason dictates and not otherwise.

The children of this type, who have not yet attained puberty, differ from the typical adults by the fact that in them we observe some very gross features of the schizothyme character. Two classes of this type among children are distinguished. One comprises the active, energetic, expansive children with obvious will to dominate, and to be the first in play. The other group consists of children that differ sharply from the former; among them we find weak, passive children, with clearly developed ego; but often with general sociability and

deep-seated good will. An individual of this class frequently appears as an egoistic, passionate child, who does not hesitate calmly to drown a newborn kitten, or to tear off the legs of insects one after another. With such negative features shown by this type we meet also children with brilliant positive characteristics, especially children with strong will and firm principles, as far as this is possible in the school age.

In the one, as in the other case, one must bear in mind the fact that with the positive and negative features are clearly observed the features often described by Kretschmer, *e.g.*, of superficial altruism. In an emotional respect children of this type, as Kretschmer has noticed in case of adults, show the transition from extreme sensitiveness to emotional dullness. They are otherwise shut up in themselves; and one feels, as Kretschmer has remarked, that in them is a painful antithesis between one's own ego and the external world. This persisting life of the child within himself not infrequently makes all the performance of such a child peculiar. A phantastic dream world created within himself not infrequently takes the place of the real world, and to the latter he gives relatively little attention.

Of course, in all these individual differences most people are apt to be either of the mixed type or to show variations. Often many of these characteristics are met both in the pyknic and asthenic types. For example, among Krasusky's children one finds the genial personality among the pyknic type in 40 per cent of the cases, among the asthenic in 21 per cent of all cases; directness among the pyknic type 40 per cent, among the asthenic in 21 per cent; egoists among the pyknic 10 per

cent, among the asthenic 27 per cent; and the subjective among the pyknics 18 per cent, among the asthenic 40 per cent of the children.

Among the mixed constitutional types in bodily structure, a series of mixed types in character as well are found. Besides the cases in which one or the other constitutional character is clearly outlined, are found mixed cases with preponderance of the features of one or the other fundamental types.

In a more recent investigation Krasusky has studied other groups of children, 1,100 in all, and has found that in most of the cases the correlation between physical build and character types found by Kretschmer among adults could be recognized in these children studied.

Thus this study by Krasusky seems to show clearly that Kretschmer's fundamental types occur among children as well as among adults.

A STUDY OF BOYS

Karl Rothe⁵⁹ has reported on the boys of an institution in Vienna, of which he is the head, and given valuable observations in regard to the relation between their physical make-up and personality, making a pedagogical grouping somewhat similar to that by Kretschmer in psychiatry.

He believes that the personality of the child is conditioned in many ways: first, by inheritance in the narrower sense; then by health; again by environment, including the industrial status of the father, the culture of the parents, the child's greater or less capacity for education; and finally, by the indefinite factor called fate.

Although Rothe recognizes that every child is an individual and as such only once in the world; in other words, that no two children are alike, just as no two adults are the same, he recognizes along with the undeniable differences between children also equally undeniable similarities; and he has classified these boys into certain groups made on the basis of consultations with medical advisors and teachers and observations during their educational development, and has made a qualitative rather than a quantitative study.

The pupils observed by Rothe were between the ages of eight and fourteen. Some of them were not all of this time under observation; others were observed beyond this period. Among the groups distinguished by Rothe the following were the occasion of helpful observations:

Overweight Children.—First, was Rothe's group of fat children. Without attempting to give the cause of the over-development in these cases, especially striking are the characteristics of these pupils in relation to the activities of the institution. Contrary to popular opinion, these overfat children were found to love and seek after physical work in a special degree. They were not only willing to work, but cared little what kind of work was given them, if only fitted to their condition as to bodily weight and muscular strength. If it were a question of drawing a loaded handcart, carrying boxes, or working in the shop, they seized the opportunity quickly and voluntarily registered for it. Again, these fat boys were good natured, for the most part trustworthy in their duties. They were successful in school work; when given positions of trust, were conscientious and honorable; and they got on amiably and sensibly with adults. Water

seemed to be their element; they learned quickly to swim, to dive, and the like.

Tall Children.—Interesting also was his group of the tall and slender. The asthenic type was clearly marked. In one case the boy's excess of height was 15 cm. This group had no educational difficulties; hence there was little to report in regard to them. They are diligent, trustworthy boys, often with very good school success, the really model boys. In the school it is easy to arouse in them enthusiasm for some branch of knowledge, but not so easy to arouse interest in gymnastics. There is something asthenic in their character. An educational group consisting only of these children, says Rothe, would be frightfully tiresome. No one of them looks as if he could at any time persevere against obstacles and resistance. They go on their way calmly and steadily, and only when they become nervous do they become interesting. Correctness and diligence are their fundamental characteristics, with a slightly nervous self-control, which shows itself, for example, in stupid questions and childish desires. They are the pride of their parents, but the great hopes often placed upon them are seldom fulfilled. On the contrary, they give up easily when life demands more of them. Many also leave school. Their report cards are their great performances.

Diseased Children.—Rothe's group of sick children is a mixed group whose common characteristic is the reaction of character to an actual or imagined illness. This illness determines their behavior. If they are cured or their belief in illness destroyed by psychic treatment, then their original type develops. This group comprises not only those diseased in the narrower sense, those suffering from tuberculosis, osteomyelitis, and the psycho-

pathic, but also children whose suffering is aggravated by anxiety and the like. In the medical sense this group is smaller than in the pedagogical sense. Here, for example, are grouped the few stutterers found.

Changes of Type.—Rothe observed surprising changes of the hodily type. A boy with pronounced asthenic habit becomes of the pyknic type. The father is clearly a pyknic type. Weidenreich,⁶⁷ on the basis of pictures, discusses similar phenomena, for example, in the case of Goethe. Rothe believes that in such cases up to a certain degree there is connected with the somatic change also a change of character.

In Rothe's ⁵⁹ (p. 242) group of sick children he describes a boy whose case shows how imaginary suffering or overanxiety changes the picture, and how with care serious disorder may be outgrown:

On account of heart trouble N. had been forbidden by the school physician to take part in gymnastics. The boy, on entering the institution, was extremely worried, no longer a youngster, but rather a fussy old youth. He not only did not take part in gymnastics, but shared in no outdoor play whatever, and moped around when the others were actively at play. His face showed the expression of constant anxiety. At the first examination, to be sure, the physician at the institution reported systolic murmurs of the heart, but no reason for any such unnatural mode of life. In spite of repeated admonitions supported by the boy's mother, who accepted Rothe's advice, he refused to take part in gymnastics and to play, and was ready to burst into tears if required to do so. He was told to try to take part in the gymnastics and that he could at once stop if he felt any actual trouble in the way of palpitation of the heart or the like. In

this way he was induced gradually to try. In the summer of 1925 he went to a vacation colony and there began to lose his anxiety. At the beginning of October, 1925, he again refused to take part in the gymnastics, cried if he were required to. A new examination and consultation with the physician followed. In these examinations the systolic murmur was not noted at one time, but was again at another examination. During the school year, however, the anxiety disappeared, he then took part eagerly in the gymnastics, took part also in ball-playing, and finally actually became a lively youngster and indeed a wild youth. Then he was found to belong to the pyknic group. (p. 242.)

THE GENETIC METHOD

The studies already made indicate the value of the genetic method in the study of types. Apparently Kretschmer was wrong in doubting that the distinction between the pyknic and asthenic types is found in the young. Krasusky's studies seem to give good evidence of these types in children. Further studies, in regard to the stages of development in these two types and the possibilities of modification of them, should be made.

One other illustration of the evidence of correlation between physical structure and psychological function may be given. Wiersma ¹² has studied the physical characteristics and mental functions of the races in the Netherlands and Middle Europe. Omitting the Jews, whose number is small, two races are found there, the Nordic, Teutonic, or German, and the Alpine. The Teutonic race is characterized by greater height, the skull and the face are long and small, the nose prominent, pointed and small, the hair blonde, the eyes blue, and the skin white.

The Alpine race is smaller, the skull and face are broad and round, the nose thick and broad, the mouth small, the lips thick, the hair dark, the skin pigmented, the neck short, the shoulders broad. (pp. 136-184.)

Are these anatomical differences correlated with differences in physiological and psychological functions? This was Wiersma's problem. In the year 1923 he sent a questionnaire to all the physicians in the Netherlands with the request that his questions be answered by one or more persons. The questions were anatomical, psychological, and physiological. This questionnaire was answered by 415 persons.

The psychological questions concerned heredity, and so on; the anatomical, the structure and form of the body; the physiological, the tempo of movements, walking, speaking, and the like, posture, bodily temperature, pulse, breathing, and so on. On the basis of the replies he concludes that a correlation between the physical structure and the mental characteristics is clearly shown. In regard to this he says in substance:

It has been shown that the physical structure of races is connected with the definite psychic structure, and the somatic constitutional type considered from the psychological side represents definite types of temperament. The connection between physical structure and temperament is thus satisfactorily established. Simultaneously it has been shown that the physiological characteristics in high degree are correlated with temperament.

Wiersma finds also a correlation between the body structure and the psychological functions. It has been shown that the racial marks differ in relation to activity and emotional reactions, but that they vary in relation to the mental effect in the same direction on an average,

and hence apparently he inferred that the essential psychological difference of the races must be sought for in the difference in secondary and primary function. Wiersma's data are inadequate. After lifelong study Boas* believes biological differences are small (p. 6).

For all we know these differences of structure may have a deeper biological significance in relation to environment. At any rate, Wheeler¹⁰ has suggested the pyknic and asthenic types among animals and gives the results of his observations among insects, especially ants. He finds that the form of the head and face in ants is conditioned largely by the size and shape of the muscles, and certain head forms are largely determined by adaptation to the cylindrical cavities in the soil or hard plant tissues inhabited by the insects. Although not too much should be based on these differences in animals until further studies have been made, these results are suggestive from the genetic point of view, and seem to give noteworthy illustration of the way the structure of individuals, animal or man, is conditioned by environment, occupation and, more directly, the muscular activity in the animal's mode of life.

OTHER MENTAL TYPES

The Introvert and the Extravert.—The distinction of introvert and extravert types has been made prominent by Jung¹² and the psychoanalysts. Some confusion has come from the two definitions. On the one hand is the technical description of the psychoanalysts. They describe the libido as the psychical energy present in all living cells, and define the introvert as a person whose psychological balance favors the retention and receiving

* No. 3 in Special List on p. 694.

of libido, and the extravert as a person whose psychological balance favors the discharge of libido. The ordinary distinction by educational psychologists and mental hygienists is substantially like that of Conklin,¹⁰ who makes the distinction of introvert, extravert, and ambivert. Of these, introversion means a tendency to direct attention to subjective conditions or a condition in which attention is controlled more by subjective than by objective experiences. Thus the introvert is likely to read, write, sing, play; and the emotional life is finer and more complex than in the extravert.

Extraversion, on the other hand, means a tendency to direct attention to objective conditions, and the extravert demands sensory stimulation and is unhappy without it. This includes kinæsthetic stimulation or the stimulation that comes from movement, hence there is delight in muscular activity. Extraversion is a condition in which attention is controlled by objective experiences more than by subjective.

The ambivert is one who combines the characteristics of extraversion and introversion and in whom attention is controlled by either subjective or objective conditions. In Conklin's opinion, the ambiverted class are the most normal and healthy.

Studies of Children.—Among children great individual differences in this respect also seem to exist. Woodworth⁷³ concludes that there is not likely to be any close correlation between the several traits of personality brought together, for example, under the head of introvert traits; and he believes that it would be more helpful if we should measure children in regard to daydreaming, mechanical interests, science, docility, and the like, as special traits, rather than to lump them together.

A careful study of *introverts and extraverts among young children* has been made by Marston;⁴⁷ but here individuals do not seem to be divided clearly into distinct types, any more than in other classes that have been distinguished. His work is important as a pioneer piece of work for the method used, the careful study made, and the practical educational and hygienic importance of the results obtained.

The subjects of the investigation were 100 children between the ages of two and five, 56 from the preschool laboratories of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station as the main group, and 44 from various sources as the control group.

For the experiment the child was placed in four situations, testing four traits: (1) Social resistance, measured by the readiness with which the child yielded to a toy in the possession of a stranger, the experimenter; (2) compliance, measured by the child's reactions to the experimenter's request that he open a box fastened beyond the child's ability to release; (3) interest, measured by the child's reactions to the novel attractions of an animal museum, where the test was made; (4) self-assertion, measured by the presence or absence of attempts to obtain a toy for which the child had expressed a preference when another toy had been substituted for the one preferred. The child's performance in these four situations was expressed as an extraversion score.

As Marston points out, the traits measured are personality qualities that largely determine the individual's adjustment to his surroundings. The results showed that long before the normal age of school entrance, children as young as two and three years already have developed characteristic attitudes of introversion and extraversion

toward certain significant situations. Without attempting to determine the relative superiority of either type, it is desirable to ascertain the young child's type tendency as a guide to later emotional and social training. The educational significance as well as the hygienic importance of these results are obvious.

Several studies of introversion and extraversion have been made among college students; and thus far, although results differ, there seems to be no adequate evidence of any special sex difference. Although some have found the tendency to introversion more marked in women than in men; and Marston, among the children studied by him, found girls more liable to introversion than the boys, nevertheless Miss Heidbreder,²⁴ among 200 cases, 100 men and 100 women at the University of Minnesota, found no special sex difference. Certain other sex differences in temperament did appear, and yet the latter were not parallel with the introvert-extravert differences.

In the study of these differences made at the University of Washington, Guthrie²⁵ found that scholarship seemed to have an almost negligible relationship to the different possible measures of introversion and extraversion. The illustrative studies should be checked by the results of further investigations.

Introversion and Mental Health.—The prevailing opinion seems to be that introverts are more in danger of mental disorder than extraverts. Probably it is a question rather of right training than of the type of individual. As regards college education, at least, J. B. Young²⁶ finds that among the students studied by him extraverts and introverts failed about equally. The group of intelligent introverts, however, showed fewer

than half of their expected failures. The students who are stable emotionally and extravert, furnish more than their share of failures. More studies are needed; but at present it seems that with the right training introverts are not only no more likely to fail in college, but are no more liable to mental disorder than extraverts. It does appear, however, to be a matter of great importance that each type should have a kind of training adapted to its special characteristics, and unfortunate that either should have its character intensified by undue specialization along the line of its peculiar interests.

The Sense of Inferiority or Superiority.—The distinction between those with a sense of inferiority and those with a sense of superiority has been made familiar by the psychiatrists. The rôle played by physical and mental disorder in producing a sense of inferiority has been made clear by Adler.¹ The individual with physical defect, for example, naturally may dwell unduly upon his own lack of ability and thus develop a sense of inferiority; and again, many attempt to compensate for this, and by special effort and special training to overcome it or to become superior in something else. Thus we have among defectives those with development arrested and characters paralyzed and impotent on account of this inferiority complex; and on the other hand, those who have compensated in extreme form, and not only become superior in performance along the line of some special function, but develop also an extreme sense of superiority, become slaves of ambition, conceited and impossible members of society.

What is shown in the defective occurs also among a great number of relatively normal people; and, perhaps especially at the period of adolescence, those who

acquire self-knowledge, seeing that many of those about them are superior to themselves in most respects, may acquire an undue and serious sense of inferiority; whereas egoism and conceit may be one phase of the development, if compensations occur.

If an individual has the intelligence to face reality in regard to his own self, a sense of inferiority is likely to be the natural and normal outcome. This result may, of course, be unfortunate, or it may be balanced by activity in doing one's own task and by successful achievement, and the outcome be merely a normal modesty in regard to one's own ability and success.

This distinction of those with sense of inferiority on the one hand or sense of superiority on the other, with a mixed type of great variety, is so common it may almost be regarded as universal. The sense of inferiority is by no means limited to those distinctly defective or pathological. It is a common experience among girls as well as among boys, among the talented and highly intelligent as well as among the dull and those lacking in intelligence. At some phase of development a sense of inferiority seems likely to come in the life of every boy and girl. Forms of behavior quite normal are liable to be interpreted as indicating this, especially perhaps in girls. In cases where there is no physical or mental disorder, this is likely to be at most merely a psychosis of development. The following case reported by Aikins² will perhaps serve as an example; the case of a girl where the sense of inferiority was compensated and afterwards outgrown.

The masculine protest was very strong in me up to the time I was thirteen. I always played with boys, wore an Indian suit with trousers, and utterly despised sissy girls and spoke of

them with scorn. When I was thirteen and began to understand a little of what womanhood meant, I suddenly became very proud of the fact that I was a girl. I am perfectly sure that I haven't felt a bit of the masculine protest since, but I have always been glad that I am a woman. [p. 263.]

With the amazing disregard of hygiene and the many conditions producing failure, it is not strange, however, that many serious cases occur. So far as mental hygiene is concerned, the remedy for both extremes, the inferiority complex and the superiority complex, is self-discovery and self-knowledge. The normal outcome is recognition of the actual facts in regard to one's own personality; the acquisition of superiority, if possible, along the line of one's own talents, whatever they may be; and such devotion to one's own task and absorption in one's own purposive activity that it becomes the goal. The individual is quite satisfied that in most things others should be superior, cares not for success in demonstrating his own superiority, becomes satisfied to be himself, and thus outgrows the childish attitude of envying others. The stimulus of success, however, in the doing of significant tasks, individual and social, is necessary. Social training in a normal social group is also both a preventive and a remedy for abnormal development toward either extreme.

In a recent article Adler¹ maintains that the aim of individual psychology is to understand the individual life as part of the whole, and he stresses the need of developing the social feeling. He believes that parents should be taught to lessen the family egoism and to put children in a social environment at an early age, so that their courage and independence may not be hindered by pampering and undue assistance.

CRITICS AND LEARNERS

One other classification of individual differences in mental attitude should be made, that between those whose dominant attitude is critical and those whose dominant attitude is that of learning. The individual differences in this respect are obvious. Some individuals always see the faults and defects, the occasion for criticism in every situation; some are ready to see everywhere the opportunity for learning. The cause of these differences it is hard to determine. They may be in part innate; they seem to be chiefly acquired.

The critical attitude is likely to be dominant among professional men, naturally, since their function so largely is that of pointing out faults and errors to be corrected. The same is usually true of experts in art and industry, the plumber, the joiner, the painter, the electrical expert, the repairer of telephones, automobiles, and other mechanisms; all seem likely to acquire the critical attitude toward ordinary individuals and amateurs. The wide range of individual variation in these attitudes is illustrated by the extreme development of criticism in those who are critical in everything; and at the other extreme in a few individuals whose scientific attitude is so highly developed that in every situation they are on the lookout for some increment of new knowledge.

The relative value of these two attitudes from the point of view of mental hygiene is fairly clear. Although it is hygienic to face reality, and faults and defects cannot be ignored; on the other hand the attitude of the learner who attempts to see the cause of any fault or defect and to learn the best means for improvement is much more wholesome than that of the habitual critic who has such

provision for faults that he is often unable to see virtue, and in condemning defects fails to see the natural means of remedy ; and as we have already seen, the critic usually knows so much that his conceit of knowledge becomes a handicap to learning.

One other subtle effect of these different attitudes is seen in the different attitude toward one's own self from these two different points of view. If at the period of adolescence one has acquired the ability to look at one's own self and study one's own self objectively, then the critical attitude appears in those people who are always condemning themselves, the victims of the New England conscience or a Freudian superego highly developed and unduly sensitive. Such a critical attitude toward oneself is sharply in contrast with that of those who carry over the learning attitude to their self-study, and in every blunder or failure utilize the opportunity to learn about their own weaknesses and limitations and the best means of prevention and cure. In a world where faults and blunders are common and mistakes inevitable, it is a matter of importance for the mental health and the development of the wholesome personality, that the attitude of the individual toward self should be this objective attitude of the learner rather than that of criticism and morbid conscientiousness.

EIDETIC TYPES

The eidetic image is an unusually lifelike visual image. Such imagery occurs in a large number of children, younger adolescents, and some adults. Such are able to form an image so vivid that it seems almost like reality. Jaensch makes two types of such images, and a mixed type. These he calls the *T*-type, characterized by an

insistence and uncontrollability of the eidetic image and hallucinations as the extreme; second, the *B*-type, of easily controlled and desired images, and Basedow conditions as the extreme. The *T*-type is said to be especially prevalent in localities where the drinking water is deficient in lime, and is thought to be relieved by administration of calcium. The *B*-type seems to be related to iodine and the thyroid gland. Here we have perhaps types due to distinct external agents, calcium on the one hand, iodine on the other.

Woodworth⁷³ suggests that generally where true types do exist, they are, like these eidetic types, exogenous, originating in the organic response to diverse external agents, chemical substances or infections or social controls.

Recently Jaensch⁴⁰ and others have emphasized the importance of eidetic phenomena, and many studies have been made. The wider significance of them in relation to mental hygiene seems especially interesting. Thus Jaensch maintains that the eidetic phenomena have clinical significance in children. The facts already learned suggest their value in relation to different types of personality and to the mental health of individual members of the different classes of temperament and mental make-up. The literature has been reviewed in a recent article by Klüyer²⁵ and in a monograph by Bonte.⁸

Eidetic Imagery Among Children.—A number of studies of eidetic imagery in children have now been made. Among these the following seem to be representative.

Cramausse¹² made an experimental study of eidetic imagery in nine girls aged fourteen years eleven months to nineteen years seven months. As stimuli were used

pictures of "Red Riding Hood" in colors, and of an Arabian woman. The pictures were observed in an effortless manner for varying periods of time from three to sixty-five seconds; after which the pictures were removed and the subjects continued to look at the background and describe their experience. Several described a distinct kind of image. There was no confusion with mental images or afterimages, which were clearly distinguished from eidetic forms. The experiences were not hallucinatory, and the following characteristics of eidetic images seemed to result from the experiment.

Such images do not occur with equal facility in case of every object. Objects which impress consciousness vividly are most effective. Eidetic images appear later than afterimages, usually requiring from thirty to sixty seconds to develop. Mental images may accompany, follow, or blend with eidetic images. Apparently eidetic images are not genetically intermediate between afterimages and mental images, but are due to the return of sensations incompletely effaced.

Naturally studies in regard to the frequency of the eidetic disposition in children vary in their results with the different methods used. Among 378 high school pupils from nine to nineteen in Marburg Kroh⁴² found 61 per cent eidetic. Of these, however, a considerable percentage were weak cases. Excluding them there remained 37 per cent.

Many eidetic problems have been studied among children by Bergemann,³⁵ Zeman,³⁵ Zillig,⁷⁵ Schmülling,⁶¹ and others. Similar eidetic studies have also been made in other countries, notably by Allport³ with eleven-year-old children in the schools of Cambridge, England, and

by Klüver among school children in several American cities.

Krob⁴² emphasizes the educational significance of eidetic images and discusses the behavior and intelligence of the pupils, gives suggestions in regard to practical teaching, believes that a detailed analysis of eidetic phenomena may be helpful for diagnosing abnormal mental states, and that the form and content of a person's eidetic images may be helpful in the study of his personality. He suggests also that such investigation may be used as an instrument of "objective psychoanalysis." All this is tremendously interesting and suggestive, but thus far we know relatively little about the whole matter.

Liefmann's Investigation.—Among the many valuable recent investigations of eidetic phenomena in children one of the most interesting, made at Freiburg by Else Liefmann,⁴⁴ may be taken for illustration. The subjects for this investigation were 834 girl students of the ages from ten to nineteen in Realschulen and a continuation course at Freiburg.

The positive results of this study were as follows:

1. In contrast to the results of the investigations among boys of the same age in certain other cities, a smaller number of persons with eidetic imagery were found. These results agree most fully with those found by Zillig⁷⁵ in Würzburg in girls of a higher school and a class in the People's School.

2. A continued decrease of eidetic ability with advancing age was found. The greatest number of the highest degree of eidetic ability were found in the twelfth year of life, the results agreeing with those of Roessler in a People's School in Würzburg.

3. For the investigation of eidetic ability of lower degree the employment of a plastic object was found useful. Investigation with non-fixated colored squares was found suited as a preliminary form of test for discovering eidetic ability.

4. Two types of eidetic imagery with a more frequent mixed type were distinguished, the labile eidetic and the non-labile or rigid eidetic type, the latter rarely found. (p. 194.)

Bonte's⁸ comments on the results of the studies of Jaensch and his pupils give a good description of these phenomena. He writes in substance as follows:

The descriptions of eidetic phenomena given by Jaensch and his pupils are especially good. They show that a large percentage of children and youth can reproduce physical objects or images, not only as presentations but also as perceptions of hallucinatory clearness, either immediately after the seeing of the objects or after a longer period of time. These phenomena frequently appear spontaneously and show frequent changes from the model or pattern. Like physiological after-images, they have marks of sensation; and like mental images, of plasticity and modifiability. According to the intensity of the presentation one can conceive of them either as intensified afterimages or as visible presentations. The individual with eidetic ability therefore can reproduce an image or an observed object, not only as a presentation, but also as an object of observation; that is, he can place before the mind a formerly presented image, later, after the image or picture has been removed, can not only place it before the mind but in a literal sense see it again. Zeman⁹ defines the *AB*, or images of sensory observation, in connection with the

definition of Fischer-Hirschberg,—objective memory pictures that appear spontaneously or voluntarily, often immediately after the observation of an object, but often not until after some minutes, hours, or years, with closed eyes or in many cases with eyes open; the observer literally seeing without, in most cases, believing in the reality of the object as actually in the external world. (pp. 5-6.)

Klüver's Study.—The significance of eidetic imagery, whatever it may be, in relation to psychological processes and the intelligence of children and their general health, is not clear. Klüver^{33, 35} has made a qualitative experimental study of the eidetic type in twenty-seven children, and he concludes that "the eidetic gift in *itself* has, so to speak, no positive or negative value." He did find, however, some indication of a difference between those with eidetic ability and those lacking it in relation to intelligence. The eidetic children, in the teacher's judgment, were good average pupils, one a gifted child. Some were dreamers, some of the adults were queer people, and he gained the impression that in the case of adults with this gift a high I.Q. is likely to be found.

Apparently there is some deeper significance indicated by the presence of such phenomena. Although as yet little is known about them, they may perhaps prove valuable in affording opportunity for tests of the individual's personality. The studies already made indicate a wide range of individual difference among those with eidetic ability.

As a single illustration of the attempts to study the practical aspects of eidetic ability, reference may be made to Schumacher's⁶² investigation. His subjects

were 151 pupils between nine and twelve years of age in the Volksschulen of the city Gelsenkirchen-Buer in Germany, between June, 1929, and January, 1930. The number of children with eidetic ability and the degree of this ability were tested, and certain practical relations were determined by having both those with this ability and those lacking it write compositions in the mother tongue.

Among the significant results were the following: Altogether the number with eidetic ability was similar to that found by Jaensch and others, namely 25.8 per cent; of the boys 21.7 per cent, of the girls 27.3 per cent. Pupils with eidetic ability were found at all levels of intelligence, and a correlation was found between the different types of eidetic ability and the differences in intelligence levels. Those with preponderant presentation image components, for the most part, stood highest. Those with strong afterimage components, on the other hand, for the preponderant majority, belonged to the lowest grade of intelligence. For accomplishment in writing compositions, the eidetic ability proved a helpful factor. The great personal significance of eidetic ability appeared in the fact that the good writers of the first level of intelligence were four or more times as many among those with eidetic ability as among those lacking it.

THE INTEGRATED AND DISINTEGRATED TYPES

In the study of eidetic images two types of personality are distinguished by Jaensch, namely, the integrated and the disintegrated. The presence of eidetic phenomena has proved to be, it is said, a clear mark of the integrated type of youth. According to investiga-

tions made at Marburg, the elementary psychic and somatic reactions stand in close relation with the higher mental life. If this be true, it is not strange for psychic complexes to show themselves in relation to sensory images. As a matter of fact, a number of physicians to-day utilize eidetic phenomena, and the subject is of distinct interest to the psychoanalysts. Many patients, however, with whom physicians might wish to use this test, exhibit no such obvious image-forming ability. For those who do not have eidetic images some other test is desirable.

Consequently Schmülling⁶¹ has attempted an investigation of a phenomenon that can be observed among all individuals everywhere, namely, the usual physiological afterimages, which represent, he believes, the lowest stage of memory. And he has found, he thinks, in them a possibility of showing latent eidetic tendencies.

Schmülling used a modification of the method of Miles,⁵⁰ who made an extended study of the visual images of children in England, employing an apparatus with which intermittent stimulation was given by means of a screen that could be turned, alternately shutting off the field of vision and leaving it free.

The strongly integrated type, especially one with strong eidetic tendencies, is characterized in experiments with intermittent observation by a great increase of the duration of the afterimage, with rarely alternation of the image and the dark phases. The characteristic of the disintegrated type is short duration of the afterimage, with many phases. The rhythm hardly seems to be influenced by intermittence of the stimuli.

Obvious eidetic phenomena are rare in case of adults, even when they are of the integrated type, and they ap-

appear least of all in case of those with weak integration. Either by natural character or by continued training, an extreme of the disintegrated type seemed to be furnished by athletic individuals. Investigations already made suggest, although their significance does not seem clear, that athletic people, for example, belong especially to the disintegrated type, that is, a type where extensive splitting of the mental and also psychophysical functions appears. Evidence of this hitherto has been chiefly the fact that, in the condition of fatigue, unusually increased afterimages can appear, which in many respects approximate the perception, *AB* images. The investigations at Marburg have proceeded from the assumption that in fatigue always the basic constitution appears clearly, as the investigations by Paul Janet have made probable.

The most important contribution of these studies seems to be the apparent indication that in the primitive mnemonic stages the most important characteristic of the wholesome personality may be distinguished, even where only latent eidetic phenomena are found. Thus the discovery of the characteristic of integration, even in perception images and afterimages, and the possibility of testing this characteristic in the early years, bids fair to be a matter of first importance, if Schmülling's results are verified. The contrasted characteristics may be summed up according to Schmülling⁶¹ in part as follows:

The perception, *AB* components of the afterimages, come to light more quickly the more the personality of the individual belongs to the integrated type. Consequently this intermittent, *I*-method proves especially fruitful in the investigations of youth; for the experiments at Marburg have always shown the wide preva-

lence of strong integration of functions in youth and childhood. At this age psychic processes appear in high reciprocal relations, which in adults appear as usually independent of one another.

The behavior of the images in the strongly integrated type, namely, those who show strongly eidetic phenomena, is characterized, especially in case of intermittent observation, by increase of the duration of the after-image, and quite rarely by change of the image and the dark phases.

In the disintegrated type who are also characterized by a strong consciousness of reality, the perception of the turned shutter dominates the total result. The after-image appears only as a modification of the turned screen, that is, of the actual object.

With the integrated type the overevaluation of the objective phenomena does not appear in the total experience. Rather there is indifference to the subjective phenomena. In case of the usual *B*-type a certain indifference in regard to the phenomena generally appears.

In those who make a normal synthesis, the normal synthetics, as Schmülling calls them, who are characterized in general by a certain egocentric world experience, the subjective overweighs the objective. The schizothyme-synthetic with strong splitting or disintegration of the personality is recognized in his experiments by the fact that the mode of behavior of the image in relation to the background changes with voluntary attitudes. (pp. 320-321.)

Genetic Stages.—Especially interesting is the fact that the studies of eidetic phenomena have shown striking differences at different periods of life. Not merely is it found that eidetic ability is common among children

and youth and rare in adults, but also there are differences at different periods of adult life as well as in the early years. Schmülling believes that also a genetic series of mnemonic stages is shown in visual images, roughly somewhat as follows: afterimages, the lowest mnemonic stage; perception images, the next; and mental images, the biggest.

G. W. Allport,³ in a careful study of the eidetic image and the afterimage, finds that the only invariable resemblances between the two is the tendency toward projection into space, "while the eidetic image differs from the memory image only in degree, being completer, livelier and more accurate."

Schmülling's Conclusion.—Although the expectation of psychiatrists and mental hygienists in regard to the importance of whatever contribution that may be made through the study of eidetic phenomena may not be realized and in any case is not yet known, it will at least be valuable if, by experiments by Schmülling's method, it should prove possible to come to closer quarters with phenomena standing in vital relation to the conditions of wholesome personality. The general conclusion to which Schmülling comes seems to be in the main sound, although it may not prove true that the memory strata distinguished by him are all satisfactorily established. He says in substance: ⁶¹

In the light of development, the psychophysis integration of function appears most clearly in visual phenomena. The stimulation of the visual organ, and accordingly of visual attention in the observation of afterimages under the conditions of intermittence, leads to the discovery of higher strata of memory, afterimages approximating the images of perception. The inter-

mittence, accordingly, has its effect as a release factor and shows itself in the working out of a degree of integration according to the degree of the usual relations already present. It appears again from our results that the afterimage phenomena represent, not a single separate stratum, but a manifold number of different higher strata; since they may be, now pure afterimages, now again afterimages in their behavior strongly approximating the perception images. Accompanying these also are transition stages between afterimages and perception image memories. Thus the latent eidetic phenomena are again suggested. The approximation of the memory stages, one to another, characteristic for integration, exist in special degree in early youth. In the eidetic phase of youth, the perception of actual objects also shows great plasticity and this is increased by intermittence. With advancing age also the visual perception approximates the case of the simple relation of stimulus and sensation.

Such are some of the representative studies of eidetic ability in children. They are interesting, extremely suggestive, and liable to raise phantastic hopes of practical results. Whether they stand in vital relation to intelligence, health, and the fundamental characteristics of the wholesome personality, is not yet clear. Whether they have the wide significance attributed to them by the Marburg school has not yet been demonstrated. Whether, when adequately studied, they will, as may be suggested, reveal old and long forgotten secrets about ourselves and be prophetic, or whether they are merely, on a low mnemonic level, such stuff as dreams are made of, all these are questions for further investigation.

From a clinical point of view the eidetic facts are

deemed significant, but in order that the eidetic tendencies may be of value in clinical investigation, it is desired that a quite trustworthy method should be available for bringing to light latent eidetic phenomena. Often even with the *T*-type, eidetic phenomena are very difficult to find, and frequently are not discovered until after a detailed investigation. Karger, of the University Children's Clinic at Berlin, says: "Although in every child the capacity for eidetic images may be latent, we have to-day no way of making this manifest; for the experiments with calcium and the like have had only a negative result." Schmülling perhaps is succeeding better.

The various problems of eidetic phenomena and their relations, like everything else in connection with human function, is, of course, tremendously complex. Whether or not it is as complex psychologically as Jaensch maintains is not clear. Klüver³⁵ sums up an abstract by saying that according to Jaensch, the *B*-type and the *T*-type represent two very general psychophysical systems of reaction, and he adds: "He assumes that in every organism we have a *T*- and a *B*-complex and that not only endocrine factors are of importance in determining these complexes, but ionic conditions, vegetative, central and peripheral factors are equally important. The *T*-complex is thought to be chiefly dependent on the sub-cortex, and the *B*-complex on the cortex." (p. 87.)

Still more fundamental and more significant in relation to the conception of the total personality is the distinction of basic types emphasized so much by Jaensch³⁶ in recent years—the integrated and the disintegrated types. To describe human personality he adopts the phrase of Stern, *unitas multiplex*, and inquires how the combining of the manifold into unity is brought about.

The answer gives what may serve as the latest definition of these two types available at the present time (1930). The many functions may occur with mutual coöperation or separate and isolated from one another. If the former is the case the type of integration results; if the latter, the type of disintegration. (p. III.) The relation of this distinction of fundamental types to the hygienic conception of integration presented in this book will be noted in the next chapter.

Here it may be noted that this distinction of the two types seems to be somewhat misleading, since apparently no adequate evidence has been found of individuals in whom the many functions of personality are carried on separately. A classification into the strongly integrated and the weakly integrated would seem to be equally helpful and apparently more in accord with the evidence available.

It is very desirable that many intensive studies, like those of Klüver^{33, 34, 35} and Schmülling⁶¹ should be made. Material for such study may apparently easily be obtained. Carmichael⁹ has noted that the presence of eidetic ability is likely to be suggested by the Binet tests. It would be easy, as he says, "after the report upon the pictures used in tests III 2, VII 2, or XII 7, as the case may be, without further exposure to ask the child if he can still see the picture and if so to tell what he observes." This at least would show whether or not the child examined would be a profitable subject for special study of eidetic imagery.

If eidetic tests may be developed that will indicate clearly, as suggested by Schmülling, whether a child is of a strongly integrated or weakly integrated type of personality, and what are some of an individual's fun-

damental mental habits, such results will be a distinct contribution to both education and mental hygiene.

Definite objective studies can be made also of some of the important problems emphasized by Klüver in regard to geographic conditions, and the like.

All these scientific studies show the wide range of individual variation in human personality. Even without technical study, from mere observation the same fact appears. Observe the baby in its cradle, the school child, or the adult of high or low degree. One sees ample evidence of personality differences. For illustrations among children, both from clinical and other literature, one can refer to the book by Thomas, *The Child in America*, and the literature cited by him.

Need of Scientific Studies.—Scientific studies furnish valuable aid to observation. Without them prevision for some of the traits of human personality is likely to be wanting, and important differences may seem much alike. Adults are apt to generalize from a few children they have known intimately. From this, serious misunderstanding may arise and often grievous injustice as well.

Few, even among those who have especially studied children, probably realize the extremes of individual variation. For a single illustration of this variation the contrast may be noted between two personalities, Professor Shields of the Catholic University of America and Nicholas, former Prince Regent of Roumania. Professor Shields as a child was extremely backward and dull. As a youth even his own father and mother came to the conclusion that he was a moron; but as an adolescent he took his education into his own hands, began the study that culminated in the attainment of the

Doctor's degree at Johns Hopkins University and prepared him for his position as professor in the Catholic University. In his book, *The Making and Unmaking of a Dullard*,⁶³ his own story is told.

In contrast with Father Shields stands the personality of Nicholas. A brief account of his personality may be given in the words of Princess Marthe Bibesco: ⁷

He in no way excited the attention of grown-up people, except by his extreme turbulence; his restlessness and love for speed were celebrated in his family from his earliest age. During one of his first visits to Posada, I could see him among the other children, not able yet to walk, dragging himself on the polished floor of the drawing-room, and, by using his arms and legs, managing to move with great quickness. His movements were of an extraordinary rapidity. He never stayed in one place. From his earliest childhood, this little boy, born in the century of mechanics, dreamed of nothing but carburetors and motors, lamps and pistons; his first and most treasured toys were baby motor cars. He disdained the horses that his mother adored. He was the child of an acute modernism, and the funny thing was that he knew it and said it. When he could scarcely talk he expressed clearly the position that it was his ambition to occupy in life. "I don't want to be a prince or a gentleman. I want to be a mechanic and a useful chauffeur." [p. 256.]

The outstanding fact emphasized by all these studies is the wide range of human personality within the limits of normality. Because one is different it does not necessarily follow that one is a superior personality. On the other hand, because one is different it does not prove that one is abnormal.

PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

The practical bearings of all this are obvious. In case of children of the pyknic type and cyclothyme men-

tal type, care should be taken to avoid if possible any mode of life or conditions likely to bring on manic-depressive disorders; and it is equally important, in case of those with the *asthenic* type and *schizothymic* temperament, that care should be taken to avoid any condition likely to lead to the divided personality, schizophrenia or similar disorders.

If we recognize the manifestations of child character as more or less conditioned physically, then the educator in this way gains much valuable suggestion. If, for example, he is warned by his early knowledge of definite danger, it is suggested that then he can take measures at the proper time, before it is too late, to bring about transformation by education. It by no means follows from the warning that one should be pessimistic and give up hope.

The importance of these differences is great. The discovery and observation of them in children give important data for the detection of individual ability and individual dangers. Such characteristics concern largely important differences not adequately measured, if at all, by the ordinary mental tests; and such observations should be used together with the personality tests, history of the individual, and the like, in determining the capacity and the general character of the personality.

In applying the results of such observations in the practical work of education and hygiene it may well be remembered that extreme cases of such types are not the common ones, that each case shows its individual variation, and that most people belong to the mixed type or have merely certain marks of one type or the other, with many variations. The concrete ways in which the

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PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

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mental and moral, but likely to be outgrown with proper care.

Of course here, as everywhere, the danger of making idols of the types is obvious. Like the mental tests, the classification according to these types is an excellent servant but a bad master; and definite diagnoses in individuals should be on the basis of all the data available, the distinction of types merely being one factor among others. Especially is this true from the fact that in case of most of these characteristics a child may be trained to overcome them, or to compensate for them, even if the tendency to a given type is so deep-seated that the individual can never outgrow it.

It should be noted that the development of these types is in part dependent on the physiological and psychological age of the individual. While both the pyknic and asthenic types, for example, are found among normal children, these types in some respects are developed during adult life. The pyknic, for example, is likely to reach its perfection in middle age; a tendency to the distribution of fat about the trunk is noticeable, and in general a well rounded figure with soft rounded limbs and often soft delicate hands is developed.

In the school, of course, apparently little can be done, and yet this knowledge enables the teacher as well as the parent in many cases to avoid dangerous pitfalls. Anything whatever that is an aid to the understanding of youth is of great importance, and here again is illustrated the need of the knowledge of the teachings of mental hygiene.

Manifold Types.—Classifications, like definitions, are made for a purpose and vary with the maker. Especially every outstanding moral or mental characteristic

distinction of these types is helpful in hygiene and education are in part as follows:

1. The distinction of constitutional type helps the teacher or hygienist to adapt the pupil's task to capacity and personality and thus avoid misfits, and to insure the greatest advantage to healthful mental development.

2. The observation of the individual type helps one to decide the important problems of discipline, throwing light on the cause of conduct disorders, giving prevision for the dangers that beset a child of a given type, showing the precautions in training that will prevent extreme and pathological developments.

3. The distinction of the individual type often enables teacher or hygienist to protect a normal child from the evil influence of extreme cases of a given type among his companions—cases that border perhaps on the pathological or are likely to have an evil influence on the normal child.

4. The distinction of type furnishes valuable information for the hygienist by showing concrete diseases or abnormal developments liable to occur in the case of a given individual. A child of the asthenic type, for example, as already suggested, is very likely to have a tendency to tuberculosis, and such a child may have equally dangerous tendencies toward abnormal mental developments. The knowledge of such facts gives opportunity for the most important of all things in mental hygiene, the prevention of disorders to which an individual may by natural constitution be predisposed.

5. The distinction of type gives a prevision of many psychoses and neuroses of development and even of minor irregularities liable to lead toward misfortune both

collection of those subtle qualities that represent for the personality what the overtones are in the individual human voice. As we have noted, every one recognizes the importance of the individual personality for health and for efficiency in action, especially in any form of co-operation with others.

SUMMARY

1. The studies briefly résuméd in this chapter are important representative illustrations of a vast number of investigations that have been made in this field.

2. In some of these investigations the number of individuals studied was so small that although the results are important, their value is qualitative and suggestive rather than quantitative.

3. In all these investigations the results are valid primarily merely for the group of individuals studied and the conditions of the experiment. Beyond this some of them furnish evidence of general validity or evidence that corroborates that furnished by other investigations.

4. In all distinctions of type we are concerned with individual differences and rough distinction into classes. The distinction of types is a matter of making some classification as an economic device.

5. The distinction of the so-called integrated and dis-integrated types emphasized so much by the Marburg school, seems to be somewhat misleading. Apparently it would be equally helpful and more in accord with the evidence to make the distinction of the strongly integrated and the weakly integrated.

6. The individual differences in personality, however varied their manifestations, are apparently all of them

might be made a basis for a bimodal classification. Thus Stekel divides all human beings and even animals into two classes, the patient and the impatient. For his special purpose this distinction may well be made, and so in regard to anything whatever significant for the personality. A good practical rule, however, is not to multiply types.

The really important thing, both in education and mental hygiene is, as we have seen, the range of individual variation. Danger usually comes from attempting standardization of matters, like human personality, that cannot be standardized. Especially in all personnel distinctions for commercial and professional purposes the temptation to standardize is strong; in all classifications, for selecting candidates for positions of trust and coöperation, the important thing again is to recognize individual differences, in order to pick out the right individual for the right place. In education and hygiene especially it is unfortunate to neglect individual variations and liable to be misleading and dangerous to establish any rigorous classification into types.

On account of the uniqueness of the individuals that make up any group, the class or type is not fixed but mobile. Studies like those of which illustrations are given in this chapter are of great practical value in giving suggestion and prevision, provided this provisional character of the type is kept in mind. The class, as described by Piaget,⁵⁷ is "a conventional framework by means of which we make arbitrary divisions in the continuous flux of evolution." (p. 298.)

After all, we know little about human personality and each person is an individual with his own peculiar characteristics, abilities, and powers, and his own individual

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rooted in the total, the whole, personality. Although they may appear especially in certain traits of character, it seems probable that the differences are deep-seated and the whole personality is involved.

7. For education and hygiene the great value of the study and recognition of personality differences has been shown.

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with complex association paths, should make possible some form of thought, such as is indicated by the marked capacity of the species in question (devil-fish, bee, or ant, for example) to profit by experience and to adapt its behaviour to circumstances. [p. 22.]

Throughout all biological development the outstanding characteristic of normality at the different genetic stages is integration of the organism at each stage. The organism responds as a whole to stimuli. Remarkable illustrations of this integration are the tropisms in plants and animals. In man also within the limits of wide individual variation in structure and function the mark of normality is integration. The most noteworthy example, both in man and in the higher animals, is concentration of attention—"the acme of integration."

In the child this integration apparently is not a development from an initial state of chaos and mental confusion, but is present at a low level from the first. This initial integration of the child gives further evidence of the deep-seated character of this characteristic of human personality.

The Initial Wholeness

One of the first coördinated or integrated responses of the child after birth is what is usually called the sucking reflex. This, however, is much more than is usually meant by a reflex. Thus Watson's⁴⁹ careful observations show that "if one taps lightly above or below the corner of the mouth of a sleeping baby, the lips are pursed into a nursing position, occasionally the tongue will protrude, and complete sucking movements will appear. Children a few hours after birth seem to be able to get the fingers and hands into the mouth.

CHAPTER VI

THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

HAVING seen the wide range of individual variation within the limits of normality, we come to the question: What is the essential characteristic of the normal personality? The answer has already been suggested. It was given in the wisdom of the ancients, and has been made familiar by folk thought, and emphasized and illustrated in the history of biological development. It is expressed in the most fundamental term in modern hygiene, as wholeness, wholesomeness, integration. To-day this conception needs not demonstration but illustration. We may begin with biology.²⁶

Integration.—The importance of integration in all biological and mental development is emphasized. Even intelligence itself, as studies in genetic psychology indicate, is largely a matter of integration. The biologists find that the progress of intelligence among the vertebrates runs parallel with the development of association paths in the nervous system. Still lower in the stage of development, some vague beginnings of intelligence are deemed possible by certain neurologists. Piéron²⁷ says:

Even among the invertebrates we can discover in the higher species, especially the Cephalopoda and social Hymenoptera, important nervous areas that serve neither for reception nor motor incitation, that is to say, projection, nor even as simple synapses; and these, being situated at a higher level and replete

of life, because in its primitive responses the coördination of movements improves with practice, and their selective function, depending on the arousal of inner states of the organism, reveals the changes that characterize an educative process.

It is not necessary to cite all the evidence for this view of initial integration. It is made probably, however, in the first place by the fact that all the ancestors of the child have reacted to environment as integrated organisms, and disintegration has always meant failure and the probability of extinction. In the second place is the fact that the reaction of attention even in the young child is a reaction of the whole organism, like the tropisms in plants and animals. This in itself is a very convincing bit of evidence. And in the third place, as shown pretty convincingly by the genetic studies of Koffka and Köhler, the very earliest mental reactions of the child are specific reactions as a whole to a whole situation of some kind.

Thus the evidence seems to indicate that the child's psychophysical organism is integrated from the first, although at a low level. What is meant by such integration may be made clearer by a concrete illustration from animal psychology.

A Concrete Case.—A dog described by Mr. Terhune⁴⁶ belonging to a German scientist bore the name of Schwartz. The dog's master had taught him to carry a coin to a tobacco shop across the street and bring back a package of tobacco. For several years at the word of command the dog performed this service with great pride and satisfaction. Then the scientist removed to another city 150 miles away.

Soon after settling in the new home the scientist noted

The sucking instinct as a whole seems to be well co-ordinated at the end of the first half hour." (p. 259.)

This response, simple as we are apt to consider it, is really complex. As Watson has pointed out, it is a series of reflexes made up of tongue, lip, and cheek movements, swallowing being the final link in the chain of activities.

Here in this first coördinated movement of childhood we have an illustration of the integration of the organism, both mind and body. A definite adjustive movement is involved, and the sensitivity is differential. The adjustment is easy to elicit during hunger, hard to elicit after feeding, and apparently it disappears in deep sleep. It is a response appropriate to an internal state of hunger and there is variation of the response with change in the internal organic conditions. The response really is a unit. Although it may be analyzed and consists of a complicated series of movements, it is a clear illustration of unity, coördination, integration, or, to use Ogden's phrase, "a total dynamic pattern," the details of which vary according to the conditions under which the action takes place.

Thus we might continue to study the responses of the young child, and we should find that its behavior largely is made up of such patterns, that it consists of wholes, of integrated responses. (Consult Chapter XVIII.)

These bodily motor responses are by no means all. From the very outset internal conditions of the organism and primitive mental conditions are involved. Thus in the cradle the child begins to build its own world; not in any mythical or transcendental sense, but in a most literal and matter-of-fact way it begins as a whole to adjust to the significant facts of its environment.

Again the child's education begins in these early days

ence and loyalty of this dog, and consider how admirably is illustrated the unity of the mind in the doing of a purposive task. This, to be sure, in Terhune's dog is integration at a low level of mentality, comparable perhaps to the mental age of a normal child of three years; but we may use Sherrington's phrase again and say that here we have nevertheless "the acme of integration."

May we not look upon the child's personality as integrated from the first, although at a low level, like that of the trained dog, and then with growth and development, as integrated at successively higher and higher levels?

Integration at a High Level

In contrast with this integration at a low level, we may note as an example at a high level what every one is familiar with, Lindbergh's trip across the Atlantic. When we reflect on the great number of factors to which his attention must be given—conditions of weather, wind, temperature, optimum elevation, personal conditions of his human machine as well as his airplane, orientation and steering in a new world of air and land and ocean, we see how remarkable was his integration. The story of Lindbergh's feat, the courage of it, the honor and the glory of it, have been often told; but no one has done justice to it as an example of integration of the personality at a high level of intelligence. The normal development of personality from childhood is through a sequence of integrations at higher and higher levels.

here too a tobacco shop across the street and made arrangements with the owner for Schwartz to procure his tobacco there as he had done in the former city; and he attempted to send Schwartz again on his old errand. He called the dog to him, gave him the usual coin, and said "Tobacco." Instead of starting on the errand, however, Schwartz was reluctant, shrank back, delayed, and whimpered, showing his aversion to obeying. His master, however, repeated the order sharply; and with head and tail down, the dog started in a cowed manner to perform his task.

Usually Schwartz' errand took but a few minutes; but hours went by and the dog did not return. Inquiry at the tobacco shop showed that he had not been there and nowhere could he be found. Some fifteen days later the master heard a slight whining and scratching at the door. On opening it Schwartz crawled in and brought with him a crumpled and dirty paper package. On noting the latter the master found it had the label of the tobacconist at his former home 150 miles distant. The dog had obeyed orders, responded to the master's command in the only way that he knew; for only one shop was associated in his mind with the word tobacco; and he had performed his task faithfully with a concentration of attention and integration that had carried him through all the hardships and rigors of a winter journey of 300 miles, and proved his loyalty at the cost of his life a few days after his return.

A true story, I take it; but true or invented, it illustrates admirably the way the simple mental processes of a dog may be coordinated in obeying a command of its master.

Please forget for the time being the pathetic obedi-

. . . I counted forty-four repetitions; when at last she ceased, it was quite independently of any surrounding stimuli which might have distracted her, and she looked around with a satisfied air, almost as if awaking from a refreshing nap. . . . This phenomenon became common among the children . . . and each time that such a polarisation of attention took place, the child began to be completely transformed, to become calmer, more intelligent, and more expansive. [pp. 158-159.]

The same is true of the workman absorbed in his task. Wherever men work spontaneously, and especially where they perform tasks requiring skill or artistic ability, their concentration upon the work in hand gives excellent illustration. In every occupation, whether in peace or war, outstanding examples are found. The same could be shown among professional men and among teachers, as among mechanics, farmers, and all industrial workers. Thus examples are familiar wherever people play, and wherever men and women pursue their daily tasks,—in all motor activities, on the farm, or in the workshop or the factory, and wherever traffic and travel occur by land or sea or air, and in all arts and crafts and professions. The integrated individual responds to a situation with the whole personality, not with a divided personality. The advantage of this integration has been well expressed by Warren and Carmichael ⁴⁸ as follows: "The integrated individual is in the best sense of the word 'free.' His behavior is consistent. He does not have to struggle with himself, and he can therefore struggle with objective problems and achieve objective results." (p. 357.)

Some of the best illustrations are naturally furnished by the guardians of our welfare when they are engaged in actual service—the policeman, the detective, the fire-

FAMILIAR ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTEGRATION

Thus integration is a familiar conception, not only among scientists, but with ordinary people in daily life. Its meaning and significance are best shown by concrete illustration. One of the best examples of integration is that of the normal child in attention to a task of his own.

I recall in my own experience a child intent on his work in cutting out paper dogs, horses, chickens, and other animals in which he was interested. He seemed absorbed in his work, and yet there was no suggestion of anything abnormal, nothing like what the psychologists call a cramp or tetanus of attention, but the normal ebb and flow, stopping to note any special stimulus, like that of the presence of another individual coming into the room, the attention drifting back again to the task in hand as soon as the new stimulus had been noted.

Such examples from the attentive activity of children in their daily tasks all are able to observe. Whenever exercise demanding concentrated attention is given, training in integration is given. This probably not only has its effect in the general development of a wholesome integrated personality, but it has at once apparently a stabilizing effect. Mme. Montessori,³³ with her keen insight into child nature, has given a noteworthy illustration of this that may well be quoted.

I happened to notice a little girl of about three years old deeply absorbed in a set of solid insets, removing the wooden cylinders from their respective holes and replacing them. The expression on the child's face was one of such concentrated attention that it seemed to me an extraordinary manifestation.

innervated, every process of mind and body concentrated on the supremely important task of the moment as guardian and protector of childhood.

Marksmanship furnishes especially good illustration of complete integration. Those in training for expert performance in competition or the like practice the most rigorous regimen, since it is found that even slight nervous stimulation from alcohol, tea, coffee, or the like may upset nervous coördination sufficiently to cause defeat. Traditional examples have been given in great number by frontiersmen, cowboys, and other expert marksmen. In the World War many outstanding examples of integration in this and other performances occurred. One was that of Corporal Yorke, who, with little aid, captured a machine gun battalion and a score of prisoners. In all such cases there is complete control of the coördination of the neuromuscular mechanism, perfect integration of lower and higher centers of mind and body.

The important question for hygiene is, of course, how can the child's integrated personality be preserved and developed? Like most important things in hygiene, the answer is so simple that many cannot appreciate it. It will help in getting the answer to this question and the understanding of it if we come to closer quarters with our problem by considering the wider significance of integration.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTEGRATION

The importance of integration is shown, not only by innumerable illustrations from everyday life, but by many special investigations. In Germany, besides the studies of Jaensch²⁴ and his followers, other studies of children,

man, the night watchman, the soldier. Although all of these have many hours when attention is relaxed, on the other hand they are trained to concentration of attention whenever they are in actual service. A single illustration will suffice.

An Example of Integration

Commencement at the university in a New England city was a day of addresses, rewards, diplomas, degrees and public honors. But one of the most interesting things of all was an everyday incident seen only by the few. Two or three hundred children from a public school near by were crossing the main street of the city. From four directions, street cars, automobiles or the like, were halted by the policeman on duty. In a bustling, hurrying city, where usually vehicles were kept moving on at least one side of the street even when passengers might be passing on the other, for once all adult activities were stopped. For the moment traffic halted, while this group of children passed at their leisure. They were representative of fifteen million school children in the United States; the policeman stood as the symbol of the great function of adult citizens, that of protecting children in their education.

Of the impressive scenes at many educational events in the city that day, the most significant perhaps and most artistic was the pose of this policeman performing his daily duty. Head erect, body forward, ready to avert any possible impending danger, he stood as a perfect example apparently of complete integration, with no care for the delay of traffic in the busy street, no impatient or hurrying gestures to the children, but a perfect spontaneously artistic pose with every muscle

pointed out, has been shown by Lashley's²⁹ studies of the brain in cases where, in spite of serious lesions causing great mental losses, nevertheless the residual behavior is orderly.

The relations of this integrative tendency, although perhaps simple enough in many concrete cases, are far from simple as a general problem. The most that can be said is that in some cases such and such are apparently the relations. A few statements are perhaps justified.

The superior integration observed by Beck, which occurs in case of emergencies when danger threatens, seems due in some cases, probably in most, to the fact that the integrative tendency has unusual opportunity because in such crises all ordinary distractions and inhibitions are swept away.

In cases of integration like those cited above, the child absorbed in his task, the marksman, the orator, the skilled workman on his job, the coördination seems to be so great because the integrative tendency is enhanced by the expression of it in attention.

Examples of integration replacing disintegration and conflict are often found, however, quite apart from great emergencies, in the minor tragedies of everyday life.

An elderly friend of mine who was becoming irritable and was easily annoyed by little disappointments, by slips in grammar, mispronunciations, repetitions of words, petty slights, and the like, suffered a really serious trial and disappointment. This, however, he took calmly and with remarkable equanimity. Later he asked me how it was that he was so easily upset by little things but could bear a great trouble so calmly. The answer seems to be somewhat as follows: In the little grievances and disappointments the superficial quick-on-the-trigger subjec-

notably those by Stern, Marbe, and Charlotte Bühler, emphasize its significance.

In France, Bergson's *Psychologie Integrale* has a significant relation, Jaensch thinks, to his own doctrine of types. He says in substance: The real background in Bergson's philosophy and the reason for its strong influence consist precisely in the fact that in it the world experience of the strongly integrated human type comes out most clearly, one may almost say, has a classic expression.

What the evidence seems to show is that there are degrees of the fundamental tendency to integration; and although the individual of the so-called disintegrated type has an integrative tendency less strong and less widely manifested, there nevertheless exists a fundamental biological tendency toward integration. None, apparently, are without it, although Jaensch describes those of the disintegrated type as lacking this and performing the functions of personality separate and isolated. To avoid misunderstanding and erroneous inferences, it would seem better for practical purposes to consider these differences merely as individual variations rather than as definitely distinguished types.

Although no adequate evidence seems to have been found of the existence of normal personalities in whom the many functions of the individual are carried on separately, on the other hand, the studies of Coghill⁸ and other biologists give evidence that the tendency to integration is fundamental in biological development.

The Tendency to Integration

Apparently a deep-seated fundamental tendency to integration exists. How deep-seated this is, as already

every normal personality is a whole in the sense that every one has this fundamental tendency to integration.

Again, noting the diversity of human traits, how, it is asked, can these diverse characteristics be integrated? The answer is obvious. Some of the traits are, of course, imperfectly developed, some are overdeveloped, and some may be developed to an abnormal degree; but at whatever degree of development or lack of development, all are normally integrated into one whole.

A natural objection is that an integrated personality may be far from our conception of a wholesome personality. While the wholesome personality is integrated, the integrated personality, according to mature standards, may not always be wholesome. The individual, for example, may be thoroughly selfish, with integration entirely about the ego. Here again the answer is obvious. This, of course, is a case of integration at a low level of personality. Sometimes it is at the animal level.

Commander Byrd tells us that in the extreme cold of the Arctic and Antarctic regions men who have a yellow streak in their personalities are likely to show it. In some of the earlier expeditions under the stress of cold and diminishing supply of food, occasionally men have stolen from the common supply. If, in spite of such defective character, we still consider such men normal, it is clear that the integration of personality is at the low level of some yellow breed of dogs. Naturally such traits of character are called brutal.

In pleasing contrast, in the Scott expedition to the Antarctic¹⁶ some years ago, was the example of Oates, who, when he found that he probably could not survive the rigors of the winter, voluntarily left the camp so that the rest of the party could have his share of the food

tive attitudes filled consciousness and there was little opportunity for anything else; whereas, on the other hand, the great stimulus from the larger disappointment aroused the deeper attitudes of common sense, wisdom, and broad judgment, and an objective view became possible. Also back of all was the fundamental tendency to integration, ready to bring serenity and mental stability as soon as the temporary annoyances and distractions were removed.

Amid all the cares, worries, and distractions of social, domestic, business, and public life, and for many the still more distracting conflicts in regard to personal duty and honor, the tendency to integration remains always ready, as soon as the worries and inhibitions are given up, to supply its reorganizing aid. But in all this storm and stress of living, little opportunity is given for this inherent tendency to do its perfect work. Sometimes, as noted above, in great disasters, this occurs; sometimes less dramatically in hospitals and sanitariums; sometimes on one's deathbed. But reported examples are few.

One interesting illustration is furnished us by the German pioneer in mental hygiene, Feuchtersleben.¹¹ He reports the case of a man seriously ill, nervous and vastly worried lest the disease should prove fatal. He was finally told by his physician that he could not recover. Then the man gave up his anxiety, accepted the inevitable, and with this came a great calm and serenity. This proved the integration needed, and forthwith he improved and soon recovered.

The conception of integration is made clearer by considering some questions in regard to it: Is the personality always a whole? The answer is: There may be great individual differences and temporary disintegrations, but

Apparently we shall not go far wrong if we think of this tendency to integration as a deep-seated universal characteristic, not like stature or weight, a merely objective quality, but on the contrary vital and dynamic, like growth. From the point of view of hygiene, it is the ever present ally of health and sanity.

Although the relation of training to the initial degree of integration is not clear, apparently just as growth within certain limits may be modified by hygienic conditions so integration may be favored by hygienic training, especially by all forms of attentive purposive activity. Thus from this point of view morale is a general attitude developed from the fundamental characteristic of integration by continued training in attention in all situations. In spite of all forms of distraction and temporary disintegration, the influence of integration appears in the very possibility of integration at higher and higher levels.

The similarity between growth and the tendency to integration may be summed up in a single sentence: like growth, integration is universal, fundamental, dynamic, modifiable within certain limits; unlike growth, it is not periodic, but continuous, and persists from childhood to senescence.

To those who believe that order is heaven's first law, and who take comfort in their own orderly activity, it is a satisfaction to know that whatever disaster comes, even when the citadel of the human organism, the brain itself, is seriously injured, the integrating tendency remains and is always ready to organize the fragments of health and sanity into orderly behavior.

Apparently as long as functional activity continues, in spite of conflicts and inhibitions, the tendency to integration remains. It is the great *Vis reparatrix naturae*.

Another question that may be asked in all seriousness by some students is: Do not men need some dissociations in order to prevent pedantry and humanize the personality of the individual? This is part of a more general question in regard to the significance for development of temporary disintegrations. The problem involved is rightly approached only from the genetic point of view and the consideration of what we have noted as the normal course of personality development through a sequence of stages of integration at higher and higher levels. Although dissociation may have a relative worth in itself, its greater value comes from breaking up an integration formed on a narrow and meager level and in giving the opportunity for integration at the higher levels suggested by a larger view of one's task and by artistic, social, literary, and scientific culture.

The question may also be asked: How can a deep-seated biological tendency be influenced by any form of behavior training? This, of course, is a part of the perennial problem in regard to the relation of training to maturation. Although it cannot be definitely answered, it is a fact that all forms of purposive activity involve attention, which is itself integration; and in all forms of education integration is apparently enhanced by the expression of itself in attention.

Thus we find different degrees of integration, a wide range of individual difference within the limits of the normal, temporary disintegrations and integrations at different levels. And most remarkable of all, in the central nervous system we find integration in conditions of serious injury. Nowhere, however, thus far, has any adequate evidence been found of any normal human personalities without integration of function in some degree.

in hand, some other tasks or some other teacher is the alternative. Along with the problem of eradicating injurious childish survivals should be studied the child's attitudes that are wholesome and should be preserved.

2. *The Child's Task*

Second, the examples already cited have suggested the further answer to our question. In the briefest terms, the great means of developing the personality is the doing of worth while tasks. Although this seems so extremely simple, like most really essential things, it has its roots in the most fundamental characteristics and tendencies of the human organism. It goes back to the most fundamental of all human urges, the impulse to activity, which is deeper and more generic than all others, the matrix from which the so-called instinctive activities are differentiated. More concretely this is seen in the play of children, in the autotelic activities of the artist, and, as we have noted, in workmen everywhere who have the artist's spirit.

The best thing is the opportunity for a child to choose his own task in a rich natural environment in the country. In urban conditions, the poor often can give little opportunity for appealing work, and the rich are apt to give their children everything but what they most need, a job of their own. But we must make the best of unfortunate conditions. The same principle should be followed as far as possible, giving a child large opportunity for his own self-chosen tasks. Many simple devices can be used to give a child something worth while to do. The little duties about the home and the school are among the best of these.

F. P. Fish,¹² long chairman of the Massachusetts Board

As soon as the inhibitions are removed, this tendency functions to bring about recovery.

Keeping in mind the significance of integration we may attempt, in part at least, to answer the question: How can a child's initial integration be developed?

CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPING THE INTEGRATED PERSONALITY

1. *Preserving the Child's Integration*

First of all the initial integration the child already has may be preserved, especially the child's power of attention. This we are apt grievously to disregard, for we always wish to make the child give attention to ourselves rather than to its own tasks.

When adults so sadly need the power of attention, we should certainly be wary about constantly distracting and interfering with the child's attention. Throughout life the practice of concentration in the doing of one's own work, and the practice of attention involved in the tasks performed, like the various forms of physical exercise and sport, give a form of mental gymnastics of great value.

Every teacher has recognized this, and the old studies by Triplett⁴⁷ showed that over 90 per cent of the faults of children that teachers have to combat are in one way or another defects of attention. Since, from the point of view of hygiene, attention represents at least temporary integration of the personality, the old teaching in regard to the need of concentration becomes the very core of mental hygiene. To permit a pupil to dawdle over his tasks with dilatory and slovenly thinking, judged by the standard of mental health, is little less than criminal. If the teacher cannot gain attention for the tasks

morning when he came into the room he went directly to them and week by week spent a longer time in playing with them. Finally, when he needed help with some of the larger ones, the teacher suggested that another boy, George, help him. Their activity in completing the task is described by the teacher as follows:*

I noticed from time to time that they seemed absorbed in their work, talking quietly together, but I did not go over to their side of the room, thinking they would prefer me to wait until they had finished. When we went outdoors for play, they paid no attention and I let them alone, wishing to see how long their absorption would continue. While we were in the yard they came out; but, paying no attention to us, they walked around the school, looking at it from every side. Then they returned to the room, still paying no attention to us. When we came back they were still working, but before it was time to go home, they came to me, and each taking hold of one hand, they drew me over, saying "See our school." Truly it was as good a representation as two five-year-olds could make from the materials a kindergarten room afforded.

Such cases, of which thousands could be cited, illustrate the normal integration in all spontaneously chosen tasks.

3. *Meeting Hardships*

In a world of difficulties, where individuals are blocked in their efforts, where from childhood obstacles have to be met in every task undertaken, where mental and moral difficulty are as menacing and often more insurmountable than material obstacles, it becomes an imperative condition of developing an integrated personality to acquire the habit of facing dangers and hardships in-

* Reported by a former student.

of Education, once gave a report of one such device that his father employed in his own personal education. The account is best given in his own words:

As far back as I can remember, I was in the habit of going to my father and asking him to give me what was called a "stent." By this he meant a definite piece of work; and from the time I could walk and think, I used to be asking for that "stent." Sometimes it was to weed a piece of garden; sometimes it was to split a certain amount of kindling wood; sometimes it was to plant or water or make something. It was a definite pleasure for me to have that "stent." Of course, if it had been too arduous it would not have been a pleasure, but coming as it did, it was play, and I looked forward to it as such and I think it did me a large amount of good. It taught me what work was. It was mighty good training for me. It was discipline. It gratified my desire to achieve, to accomplish something. It gave me self-respect. [pp. 143-144.]

In the schools the plan of giving worth while tasks has been most successfully applied apparently in the kindergarten and in research at the university. The former has always attempted to give fitting occupations. In the latter the thesis in some graduate schools has already become the most important part of the work for the doctor's degree. The *Arbeit*, the task, has long been the significant thing at the German universities.

Examples of integration with complete absorption in one's own task are again and again shown by kindergarten children in their spontaneous activities. Every teacher perhaps who gives the opportunity for freedom can cite such examples. The following case is representative.

One of the youngest children in a kindergarten was Joseph, a small Italian child. This boy had chosen to play with the blocks and became so interested that each

plants and those that favor development in children. In both human beings and plants greater variability and adjustability result from meeting difficulties. The cactus, for example, which has always had to meet hardships, is variable, the rose, which has been nursed and coddled for generations, lies down and quits when care is lacking. Burbank illustrates this fact somewhat in detail, in part as follows: (p. 239).

The cactus meets any form of difficulty and adapts to most unfavorable conditions. For thousands of generations this plant has met scorching heat, the searing drought of summer, the piercing cold of winter, and the parching conditions of the desert. In spite of all this it adjusts to conditions and develops. Of this he gives concrete illustration. He relates that once he hung a cactus plant on a tree for four years and then when he planted it it began to grow within ten days. Again he put a slab of cactus on a shelf covered with burlap four feet from the ground and soon discovered the cactus had sent its roots through the burlap and they were reaching for the earth far below it.

Of the difficulties met by these plants Burbank³ says: "They were robbed of their fruits, gnawed at, wounded, cut off at the base, and generally so hardly treated that they were threatened with extermination." (p. 233.) Adjusting to such conditions they developed slabs instead of leaves and spines as a protection against buffaloes and rabbits. On the other hand, he found that the plant that for generations had lived without stress or hardship or change in its condition was "as set in its ways as a grindstone and as stubborn as a mule."

Thus such plants as the cactus that have met difficulties and adjusted to new conditions through many

stead of sidestepping them or running away. Fortunately the best of training in meeting difficulties comes naturally in doing one's own tasks.

From the genetic point of view we are concerned with the rôle of the task in the everyday life of the home and the school. Some do not like the word task, but for a serious occupation no other term is quite as good. We may avoid the word but we cannot escape the idea. It is just because it suggests difficulty that it is a good term.

Difficulties, obstacles, opposition, are all, as we are wont to look at them, disintegrating factors. The advantage of meeting them is emphasized by the whole course of evolution. Avoid them, and they become disintegrating factors; face them, overcome them, they give opportunity for higher integration. Our genetic point of view gives striking illustrations.

Especially instructive is the training in adjustment given by gardeners in their training of plants. Luther Burbank's wizardry in doing this is well known, and his application of this principle to the training of the human plant furnishes some of the best suggestions for parents and teachers who attempt the training of children in adjustment to new and difficult situations.

The studies by Bose,² the great scientist of India, have shown that the organization of plant life in a broad way is similar to that in animals and men. The integration of what Bose calls the nervous system in plants, together with that of the nervous system in animals and men, gives remarkable illustration of this tendency to integration in all organized life.

Luther Burbank,³ the master of the world's great gardeners, just mentioned, fittingly suggests a comparison between the conditions that make for development in

We note this effect of repetition in our daily activities. Repetition dulls almost everything. To rewrite a blotted page in a letter; to add over again an account because of an error, to repeat directions to an inattentive child, to retell a story in a social group—these are so many cases in point. As regards passive experiences, the same law holds. Commonplace examples are: listening to an old joke or story or to repeated exhortation; the rehearing of an address, however eloquent; usually even the rereading of a story; the repeated use of the same words in the editorial of a newspaper, book, and the like. To some people any repetition of a word by a writer or speaker is abhorrent. Similar illustrations are familiar to every one.

In a world where most of the important things must be repeated day after day, and where the health of one's personality depends on the continued repetition of the essentials of mental hygiene, the attitude of persistence is of prime importance. Fortunately a few things are exceptions to this law of the dulling of emotion. Such are tasks that largely involve creative activity and experiences where mental growth is involved. Even all those repetitions where the associations developed give one the compensatory feeling of pleasing familiarity, are exceptions. Such are some of the stories, mottoes, and the like, made familiar in our childhood, some of the ritual of the prayer book, the Lord's prayer, a few immortal poems, the motif of some of the great operas, and the like. In such cases, like children with their fairy tales, we demand exact repetition; and the feeling of fitness and at-homeness resulting from this adds to our pleasure.

Against this deadening effect of repetition all writers,

generations are the ones most suitable for variation and education. Applying this law to human individuals Burbank rightly says that crutches are for cripples but are weakening to a normal man, and the individual youth, like the plant in nature, must be self-reliant or he goes down.

The normal boy and girl like to face hardship. The more difficult the task the greater the zest of doing it. They are anxious for tasks of greater and greater difficulty. They beg for the opportunity to do what older and stronger children are permitted to do. If this normal impulse to expend energy and to do difficult things is not inhibited but rightly guided, such children grow up without fear and always ready to face a difficult situation. Thus the simple and natural way for children to begin to face reality is in facing the difficulties of their own tasks.

4. *Persistence*

One other essential attitude implied in what has been said, but not explicitly noted, should be emphasized, namely, persistence. Training in this attitude aids personality development.

The Danish psychologist Kierkegaard, if I understand him aright, deems the great achievement in any individual personality the courage to recognize the fact that life is repetition. Persistence is usually irksome. Our emotions especially are dulled by repetition. Like Balzac's magic skin, that shrank with every wish of the owner, an emotional thrill is usually greatest the first time it is experienced. It is subject to the law of the diminishing intensity of feeling, and even those most pleasing are apt to grow stale when often repeated.

to make its own contacts with its environment. Of important environmental factors, climate is among the chief. Huntington's²³ studies have indicated that the changeable conditions in a temperate climate are especially favorable for intellectual activity. Those who live in such climates give plenty of concrete illustrations of the training in adjustment that results. In the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, the writer has seen boys in the morning of a spring day skating on the ice formed on the side of a back street and sailing their boats on the same pool of water in the afternoon of the same day. Such natural training in adjustment to changing conditions throughout the years of childhood is a distinct advantage for the development of the healthful personality.

Concrete examples of individuals who have had natural training in adjustment are well worthy of study. Among outstanding personalities of this class are Thoreau, John Burroughs, Joaquin Miller, and Luther Burbank. Although these individuals had different forms of training, all alike were natural and unconventional. Rousseau's paradox that the only habit a child should acquire is that of having no habit, still contains its truth for mental health.

Children who do not have the advantage of such environment and conditions may well receive some special training, if it be wisely given. If nothing more, the furnishing of the nursery and especially the playground may sometimes be changed with advantage by the addition of new toys or by new arrangement. It is an advantage to have playthings with which children can do something, with which things can be made, and the like.

Parents and teachers should not forget the eloquent words of Jean Paul Richter in regard to the plays of

children and his eulogy of what he deemed the best of all toys, a pile of sand; and nothing is better for children to-day than a clean beach, or lacking that, a clean sand-pile. G. Stanley Hall's ¹⁸ classic story of a sandpile shows the large possibilities of this means of training.

Mental hygiene asks how can children and youth be expected to adjust to new and difficult situations when little chance for this is given, especially in families where parents, nurses and servants all conspire to rob children of the natural opportunity for adjustment. None are so unfortunate and none so poor as the children of the rich when parents give no opportunity for meeting of difficulties and of adjusting to new conditions.

Whereas integration makes adjustment possible, adjustment, on the other hand, is the normal functioning of the integrated personality.

6. *The Reaction of Sleep*

Little attention has apparently been given to sleep in relation to personality. It is, however, a matter of no slight importance how the organism functions for a third of its time, for example, twenty years in a lifetime of sixty. If we accept Claparède's ² theory that sleep is not a passive but an active function, this appears still more important. According to him sleep is a positive reaction to certain stimuli, like the other responses of the organism to the stimuli of definite situations, and we sleep, not because we are exhausted, but to prevent becoming exhausted.

Much convincing evidence has been given by Claparède in support of this theory, and it should be noted that this view does not conflict with the physiological facts that have been discovered as conditions of sleep—decrease in

of expressing emotion, and habits of repressing emotion, we can thwart emotion, dull it, diminish it by repetition, and develop habits of rational activity to take the place of it. It is doubtful, however, whether the emotions as such can ever be trained, but they can be conserved.

As a matter of fact, the process of controlling emotion in the ordinary adult individual is largely that of repressing and controlling childish survivals of envy, jealousy, selfishness, and other infantile attitudes. It is, in a word, that of actually becoming mature men, of actually attaining the ideals presented by G. Stanley Hall, James, Kipling, and St. Paul.

The primitive emotions, love, fear, and anger, may control each other. Thus fear and anger may repress love, and love in turn casteth out fear. The hygienic method of controlling emotion in its ordinary forms is by the development of wholesome interests that function vicariously in the repression of emotional reactions. Thus the process of reëducation in hospitals and sanitariums is, as we have seen, largely one of developing wholesome interests to replace the unwholesome forms of emotional response. The aim of hygiene is to develop such controlling interests in the first place, for prevention.

The Expression of Emotion.—Mental hygiene is concerned with the normal expression of emotion. Control of emotion depends largely upon this principle. Abnormal or unrestrained expression of emotion, on the one hand, is injurious; abnormal, or undue repression of emotion, on the other hand, is injurious. The injury from the unrestrained emotion is familiar from observation and reflection. An outstanding example is anger. This is not only liable to be especially harmful in some forms of disease, high blood pressure for example, but

perhaps caused by disturbances of sleep that signify continued distraction by the responses of a divided personality. Most important of all perhaps is the giving up of any inhibitions that may prevent the full dynamic influence of the inherent tendency to integration.

7. Hygiene and Direction of Emotion

Another vital factor concerns that part of the mental life about which we have most experience and least knowledge, what is usually referred to as emotion. Among the best examples of integration are the natural expressions of emotion where intellectual and emotional responses are coördinated, and the emotion furnishes the stimulus for the intellectual activity in the performance of some great all-absorbing task. With most people, however, a more common experience is apt to be that of conflict between the intellect and emotion. Naturally therefore these emotional experiences are considered as disintegrating conditions. The significant feature of all the forms of coördinated activity we have mentioned as illustrations of integration, the work of the artisan at his daily tasks, the policeman, the public speaker, the musician, the marksman, and the rest, is wholeness of the personality, and the responses in all these activities are responses of the whole personality. In cases of uncontrolled emotion the response is that of a divided personality.

Control or direction of emotion, however, is largely a positive function. Means of directing emotion are many, but the process is difficult.

Much is written about educating the emotions. This, however, strictly is not possible. At least it is not accurate to speak of training them. We can develop habits

tion when things went wrong in placing the blame on "the total depravity of inanimate objects."

Many years ago in a lecture to a woman's club on mental hygiene the writer ventured to say that when one is very tired one may feel like Kipling's hero, that he wants to go where "there ain't no ten commandments," and added that from a hygienic point of view in such conditions the fewer things one makes a matter of conscience the better. As the audience was highly intelligent, it did not seem necessary to explain this apparent conflict between hygiene and morals. At the close of the lecture a distinguished woman, the mother of a large family of children, and a saint in Israel, made comments upon what had been said, saying in substance: "When I was bringing up my boys and trying very hard always to say and to do just the right thing, I frequently became very tired. Then I used to go away into my closet and shut the door, and say 'damn.' That was a great relief to me; but I always felt that it was very wrong until I heard the lecture this afternoon."

Among some civilized nations exaggerated statements, expletives, and profanity are the usual surrogate for more violent expression of feeling. Rihbany⁴³ has described the Syrians as giving noteworthy illustration of this.

Again among children who are carefully trained and taught that it is not polite to use profanity, unique and interesting substitutes are sometimes employed. Godkin,⁴⁴ in his description of the James family, mentions the ardent discussions of various problems that occurred in the family circle made up of Henry James the father and the boys, including William James and Henry James the novelist. When apparently the discussion

is a violent reaction of the whole organism that, however righteous in certain situations, is likely to be injurious to the mental health. To children anger is harmful because of the patterns of behavior that are developed.

Repression of Emotion.—The normal means of repressing emotion is usually by some vicarious means of expressing emotion. The far-reaching importance of this is shown, not merely by observation and in general literature, biography, and especially in fiction, but is made clear in all art. All forms of art, as Hirn²⁰ has shown, are autotelic, ends in themselves, and exist for the purpose of expressing emotion. This is true, not only of painting, sculpture, architecture and the rest, but also in belles lettres. Goethe, for example, when depressed, is said to have found relief by writing a poem; and the difference between truly artistic writing and mechanical writing is that the former is the expression of genuine emotion, the latter usually of artificial or imitated emotion.

The universal character of this urge for expression is shown by observation in case of the major emotions, fear, love, and anger. This need for expression, however, occurs in everyday activity as illustrated in ordinary conversation and in literature. Only one illustration need be given in detail.

The Use of Expletives.—A well-nigh universal tendency is the use of expletives and profanity. Not only all children and youth are apt to show this, but mature men and women in all walks of life. Among those who avoid profanity because they deem it wrong, many substitutes appear. I used to know a clergyman, for example, who never was profane, but took great satisfac-

the method of wisdom and the only one likely to prove successful. Solution of the problem by this positive method should receive careful study. Again, as in the use of good language generally, in stimulating wholesome substitutes for profanity and slang, hygiene emphasizes the great value of example. The special method or device used should be adapted to the individual differences in personality.

Such are the general methods suggested by mental hygiene. A single concrete example of the positive method of hygiene would be this: With some children a vicarious habit of making a kindly jest as the emotion response instead of being profane, may be developed.

The tendency to express feeling and emotion in strong language, expletives and profanity, has been used merely as an illustration of the universal urge to express one's feelings. Of course language is by no means the only means of expressing the emotion. It may be expressed, as every one knows, by any motor activity, by gesture, smile, scowl, pout, or grimace, or the like, but in some way, such expression is normal.

Where legitimate means of expressing emotion are given, the wholesome personality expresses feeling in many ways, and may acquire more refined and more fitting ways. One may attain the ideal of abstinence from profanity and discretion in the use of exclamations and slang; but some expression by means of language is desirable as a social factor and a healthful reaction.

That there are degrees in the adequacy of expression by means of language is obvious. Here in some cases a somewhat subtle distinction may be made. I remember a sturdy New England farmer who occasionally came to my home when I was a boy. His way of expressing

reached the point where further argument was futile, and the use of anathema seemed the last resort, the curses hurled at the father were sometimes unique, for example, "May you always have lumps in your mashed potato." (p. 118.)

Every one probably is familiar with similar use of expletives and various substitutes for profanity, showing the universal impulse to express feeling and emotion in this way, even by those who have scruples on the ground of politeness or of morals against such language.

Special study also has shown how widespread is the habit of profanity. The extreme development of this habit is said to be shown by sailors and aviators. Small,⁴⁴ in a study years ago gave manifold illustrations of its prevalence and of the amazing variety of the expletives used. Everyday observation shows the same. The use of expletives becomes an unfortunate habit, not the sincere expression of emotion, but often artificial and annoying. Gamaliel Bradford quotes Emerson as saying once, "Sbam damns disgust."

Since profanity and slang, on the one hand, represent a well-nigh universal means of expressing emotion, and on the other hand, a habit usually vulgar and a social handicap, it presents a practical problem in mental hygiene demanding serious study by parents and teachers.

As usual in mental training, a negative method forbidding the use of this means of emotional expression, together with blame, punishment, and the like, is likely to be futile. Here, as elsewhere in hygienic training, a positive method developing some wholesome attitude and habit that can function vicariously in the expression of emotion, in place of the profane habit, represents

One of the great acquisitions in the evolution of the human mind is the development of a sense of humor. It is so wholesome that where it does not exist, it should, if possible, be cultivated. In certain occupations and professions, like that of the teacher, for example, it becomes an essential of first importance, although in the view of some, this is precisely the calling where the sense of humor is likely to be absent. While it is usually valuable for the health of the individual in general, it has special virtue for the mental health as what may be called, by at least a pertinent analogy, a mental disinfectant of prime value. It takes the sting out of many unpleasant situations, and makes the individual who possesses it attractive to his companions and friends. Also apparently it has a deeper and wider significance in relation to one's attitude toward life and one's special task.

The small boy who happens to be the victim of some practical joke may feel depressed by the accidents and difficulties he meets; but when he gains the insight that it is all the result of a grim joke of his companions, his whole attitude is changed. He may feel indignant, he is likely to be beset with curiosity to find out who did it, but he is no longer depressed. Thus it is with some people in regard to the conditions of life itself. Although they may be discouraged by what seem unjust difficulties and the inevitable limitations of a hard and cruel fate, as soon as the sense of humor asserts itself a new point of view develops. Curiosity and the desire to investigate are likely to take the place of depression; and in any case the insight is gained that there may be some deeper meaning in things that appear adverse; and this sense that there may be some unknown but

emotion was somewhat unique. In the barn he used profane words, and in the house at the dinner table he said grace, with equal fluency; but in some way the former seemed to be a little more spontaneous and unrestrained than the latter.

Special opportunities for the normal expression of emotion are offered by the doing of interesting tasks, by the various forms of play and recreation, by the different arts, and by the many activities of human society.

For the expression of emotion by means of language society especially offers opportunity; but language usually is more adequate as a means of expression the less conventional it is, and the various social mechanisms largely inhibit emotional expression and often become masks. When the number of more wholesome personalities is greater, and when there is more training in normal social groups, the dustbin of the world will be heaped to overflowing with discarded masks; and society, like art, will become more genuine and more hygienic.

8. *Helpful Attitudes*

Involved in all this development of integration and reaction to emotion, in the wholesome personality certain mental attitudes are also inevitably developed. Some of these have already been mentioned, the learning attitude, confidence, the attitude of facing difficulties, and the like. Others are important. One of these, what is usually called the sense of humor, would well repay scientific research.

A Sense of Humor.—That "a merry heart doeth good like a medicine," is an old saying; and it is noteworthy that in this case the medicine blesses him who gives and him who takes.

dispositions are especially significant for the mental health of the individual and the social group. The good-humored parent and the good-humored teacher, for example, make an atmosphere of serenity, hope, and happiness, whatever the actual situation may be. This is never more apparent than in cases of trial and difficulty, and is especially well illustrated in the little accidents of daily life; the good-humored person laughs at mistakes and blunders, the ill-humored person is vexed and irritated. So significant is this factor of personality that, however much it involves and overlaps others, good humor may well be emphasized in any practical discussion.

Such are some of the conditions favorable to the wholesome personality. The primal tendency to integration and the quality of the individual personality are apparently innate, and perhaps it is impossible to add jot or tittle to them. We do know, however, that personality disorders occur. Hence at least as a means of prevention it is desirable to make conditions favorable for the normal functioning of the personality.

One generic attitude of which the learning attitude is a more specific form is so vastly important that special attention should be given to it. This is the objective attitude, and to it the next chapter will be devoted.

EXAMPLES OF WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

Concrete Examples

In recent years a few men in public life have been such wholesome and outstanding personalities that one is tempted to cite them as concrete examples; but unless one knows a person intimately, it is hard to give a just

significant condition, at least changes one's attitude, as illustrated by James in his famous essay on *The Will to Believe*.

Both in child and adult the development of the sense of humor causes a healthful change. Perhaps it is because the play attitude takes the place of the matter-of-fact attitude. And in case of men and women a valuable result comes if it merely gives the unduly sober person the insight that he has been taking life too seriously.

Some of the readers of Ian Maclaren³⁰ who recall his story of Jamie Soutar in *A Nippy Tongue*, may deem that a pointed illustration of this wholesome effect of a sense of humor. The incident was in substance as follows:

A lay preacher concluded his remarks by an invitation to all in his audience who wished to go to heaven to stand up, and Drumtochty rose in a solid mass—all except Lachlan Campbell and Jamie Soutar. Then the preacher gave a similar invitation to all who wished to go elsewhere to rise. After a few seconds Jamie rose with great composure.

"You surely did not understand what I said, my aged friend," exclaimed the preacher. "Do you really mean that you are ready to . . . go . . . where I mentioned?"

"A'm no anxious for sic a road," said Jamie blandly, "hut a' cudna hear tae see ye stannin' alane, and you a stranger in the pairish." (p. 257.)

Types of Disposition.—Distinct from what has been already mentioned, but important for the health of the individual and most helpful in the social group, are two mental attitudes or two forms of disposition distinguished by the ordinary common sense of folk observation and thought as good humor and ill humor. These

immediate situation and remarkably free from distraction by an impending future, but also he had acquired such a mental economy that he was able to neglect the unessential in his work and his reading to a surprising degree; so that at his best he did not even think of the mediocre; and again he seemed to have been unusually free from many of the inhibitions by which ordinary men are handicapped. Apparently it was this perspective and mental economy which gave force and interest and wide appeal to his writings.

Even from the inhibitions that most men have from the influence of their own past activities and intellectual achievements he seems largely to have freed himself. In connection with the careful scientific study of his brain, Donaldson¹⁰ makes these noteworthy statements:

Hall was a man of very strong personality. At first glance, he seemed to have an intellectual rather than an emotional interest in those about him and to be distant; nevertheless, he was much sought as an advisor, and was skillful in the art.

In the field of the newer psychology and in education he exerted a profound influence throughout his academic life. One striking feature in his mental habit was the insatiate desire to jump the fences formed by his own knowledge and thus reach new fields and new points of view. [p. 9.]

A great personality, even among our friends, is only imperfectly known. He may give to the half of his kingdom, as Sanford might have said, but beyond a certain line lies the other half, which is unknown and mysterious. This lack of knowledge of our friends is only equaled perhaps by our ignorance of ourselves.

account, and such illustrations may be dangerous. Hence I shall limit myself to two cases with whom it was my good fortune to be associated for forty years—Dr. Sanford and Dr. Hall of Clark University. These two men were very different; but both, like all of us, had temporary disintegrations, and both were personalities integrated at a high level of intelligence.

Edmund C. Sanford.—Sanford I knew as student and coworker at Johns Hopkins University, and as Professor of Psychology at Clark University, and afterwards as President of Clark College. Those who had the privilege of working with him will agree with me, I think, that he had in marked degree this mental wholeness and integrity of personality, together with the poise, straightforwardness, and serenity characteristic of it.

Sanford, it is true, had many charming gifts, a genuine good fellowship, the scientific ability to see significant facts, a really artistic sense of humor, and a poet's insight. But the special characteristic that gave him dignity everywhere and made him receive respect from every one was apparently the integration of his personality. To him have been aptly applied the words of the poet:

The stern were mild when thou wert by,
The slipper put himself to school and heard thee,
The arrant fool was silent and he knew not why.

G. Stanley Hall.—Hall as an example of the integrated personality showed a certain uniqueness that impressed all who met him. Many criticized him; many admired him; some belittled him; some adored him; none were indifferent. Not only was he able to focus all his energies and his marvelously wide equipment on the

12. Involved in the preservation and development of the wholesome personality are such significant attitudes as confidence, the attitude of facing difficulties, the sense of humor, the learning attitude, and the objective attitude.

13. Integration is the most fundamental characteristic of the wholesome personality.

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SUMMARY

1. Hygiene has a broad conception of personality, combining the view of those who define it as the sum total of the reaction tendencies of the individual and the view of those who define it as the social stimulus value of the individual.

2. The conception of an integrated whole is familiar in biology and in everyday life.

3. The normal healthful personality is an integrated personality.

4. Only by applying the genetic method can the practical results of the various studies for morals, health, and education be evaluated.

5. The normal developing personality is characterized by a series of integrations at higher and higher levels.

6. In the individual personality the different mental processes are integrated to date and become the basis for broader and higher development.

7. The evidence indicates that from the first the child is an integrated personality, although integrated at a low level.

8. Illustrations of integration occur wherever men are engaged in attentive activity, especially in motor activity and all arts and crafts.

9. The great means of preserving and developing the wholesome personality is attentive coördinated activity, physical and mental.

10. The responses of the normal individual are responses of an organized whole, the responses of the abnormal individual are those of a divided personality.

11. The wholesome personality is characterized by normal expression of emotion and by control of emotion.

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CHAPTER VII

THE OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE

ON November 6, 1923, or thereabouts, a street laborer from the city of Worcester, one Giovanni by name,* sailed for Naples, taking with him his favorite shovel, just as Kreisler on a similar homeward voyage might have taken his favorite violin. It was a superior shovel, it hung right, the scoop had the proper curve, the handle was just what it should be. It was the symbol of Giovanni's task and of the integration that comes by purposive activity. This simple incident in the life of an ordinary laborer illustrates two of the greatest things in mental hygiene: the health value of one's own task and the significance of the right attitude toward one's task, two very simple things vastly important for the mental health.

Giovanni's task was a humble one, but it represented the hygienic gospel of work and the wholesome development of personality that comes by integration, not about the ego complex, but rather about a worth while task as the focus. His attitude was the objective attitude similar in a small way, on the lowly level of daily toil, to the creative, productive attitude of the artist, suggesting at least in a vague way some mute inglorious Michelangelo.

These two things, the task of one's own and the right attitude toward it, reinforce each other. The task helps one to take the objective attitude; the objective attitude insures a more complete integration by means of the task.

* From *The Normal Mind*, p. 222.

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ously to avoid the common spoiling of children by parents who can never take an objective attitude toward them.

This objective attitude is quite as well illustrated also by the common sense of ordinary men and women and in the wisdom of folk thought. The ordinary man of affairs, for example, attempting to perform some serious duty, finds that worry and self-distrust are liable to spoil his work, so by a sort of work compulsion substitutes the objective attitude for his subjective anxieties. Workingmen in the face of difficulties and troubles fall back on the old saying, "It will be all the same a hundred years from now." The man of good sense often even adopts this objective attitude in regard to slights, affronts, and even insults. Thus Lowell's comic hero of *Biglow Papers*,* in his uncouth language, declares:

We begin to think it's nater
To take sarse and not be riled;
Who'd expect to see a tater
All on cened at bein' biled?

The wholesome personality usually takes an objective attitude, at least toward merely personal slights.

Both Familiar Attitudes.—The subjective attitude hardly needs illustration; for when we are not engrossed in some actual task, that is apt to be the usual attitude. The contrast between the two is suggested also by the question of one of Dr. Walton's patients: "I can endure the troubles of other people, why can not I bear my own?" The answer to this is obvious, for our attitude toward our own troubles is subjective, that toward those of other people objective.

The Subjective Attitude in Abnormal Cases.—The contrast between the two attitudes is strikingly shown in

The writer has already discussed in detail the significance of one's task. The aim of the present chapter is to illustrate the health value of the objective attitude as a means both of expressing and integrating the personality.

I. SUBJECTIVE AND OBJECTIVE ATTITUDES

The objective attitude stands, of course, in contrast with the subjective. The latter, as everybody knows, is concerned chiefly with feelings and emotions, with impulses, caprices, desires. Directly or indirectly it has to do with the self, the ego. In contrast with this, the objective attitude is concerned with objective reality, objects, things, deeds, thoughts. It is usually illustrated in the task of the moment, in the immediate job of the good workman; in the attitude of the trained merchant or salesman toward his customer, of the pitcher to the man at the bat in the immediate situation of the baseball game, of the trained chauffeur toward his automobile in the busy street.

This contrast may well be made perfectly clear at the outset. This is best done by simple concrete illustrations.

The most familiar example is the commonly recognized contrast between mine and thine. My possessions, my work, my behavior, my troubles, I look upon emotionally and subjectively. Your possessions, your work, your behavior, and your troubles I look upon objectively. In parents it is proverbial that their attitude toward their own children is subjective, whereas toward other people's children it is objective. Thus a wag has suggested that the only way to have your children properly trained is to have this done by your neighbor, because he always is likely to know just what their education should be. Watson and some others have even suggested this seri-

advice in regard to the advantage sometimes of psychic deafness:

Also take no heed unto all words that are spoken; lest thou hear thy servant curse thee:

For oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thyself likewise hast cursed others. [Ecclesiastes, 7:21, 22.]

The permanent mental attitude of the founder of Christianity seems to have been objective. It is noteworthy that one of the characteristics in his personality that especially arouses admiration to-day is his power of detachment from the narrow prejudices of self and race and creed.

Kant's Hygiene.—More than a hundred years ago the great Immanuel Kant,⁸ in his discussion of the effect of the mind on the body, emphasized the advantage, for mental health, of the objective instead of the subjective attitude of mind.

He gave much attention in his own personal experience to the effect of attention and other mental processes on the response to physical stimuli. Thus he found that when suffering from a cold and cough he could by a proper mental regimen distinctly relieve his condition, and he gives from his observation a valuable example that illustrates the general principle. In a remarkable passage, apropos of what Hufeland had said, he wrote in substance as follows:

This objective attitude to which Hufeland refers has an effect almost like magic upon the child or patient who acquires it. At once with this, instead of a confused and chaotic state of mind where the individual is the victim of every whim, caprice, or emotional stimulus, with the resulting disintegration of the personality, with this ob-

the difference between pathological and normal individuals. In most if not all cases of personality disorders a chief cause of the trouble is the self-centered emotional attitudes of the patients. They do not and perhaps cannot take an objective attitude toward their work and the condition of their lives; and the aim of the psychiatrist is to develop this objective attitude by some means and substitute a normal viewpoint for the disintegrating ego-centric emotional attitude characteristic of the disorder. The normal individual, on the other hand, to a large degree naturally takes an objective attitude toward his work and associates; or if not, such an attitude can be developed by proper training.

II. THE VALUE OF AN OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE

The value of the objective attitude can hardly be exaggerated. Some cannot understand it, but those who are able to attain it will find its vast significance. In health or illness, in poverty or riches, in leisure or haste, in everyday life or in the great emergencies that sometimes come to men and women, in times when all goes smoothly and in the most desperate straits, in youth or age, at all times and in all conditions, this is the supreme means, next to the doing of one's own task, for integrating the personality and for preserving the mental health.

The Attitude of the Wise.—In all ages wise men have furnished examples of the objective attitude; especially perhaps among the sages of ancient India, China and Japan, the classic writers of ancient Greece and Rome, and the Hebrew poets and prophets. Solomon, for example, shows a surprising modern insight of the practical applications of this attitude. Recall, for instance, his

of leaders of men on land and sea, workmen, telegraph operators, firemen, and others who maintain an objective attitude that enables them to stick to their posts of duty in the face of peril and death. Among ordinary people, however, in the daily activities of life, an objective attitude has often been maintained by which individuals have looked upon a certain amount of loss and accident as an inevitable condition of work and prosperity.

In a rural district in New Hampshire people used to tell with astonished admiration of the objective attitude of a prosperous farmer who, when told perhaps some morning that one of his horses or other valuable animals had died during the night, was wont to say, "Them that has must lose, them that hasn't can't." This probably is a representative case of the ability of many men and women, the unlearned as well as the educated, to take an objective attitude in regard to ordinary trials.

In illness, whether of oneself or others, the objective attitude is a valuable asset. Some people are able to maintain this attitude in spite of pain and disease.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the suppression of pain and discomfort by an objective attitude in attention to higher intellectual interests is given by that master of amateur psychology, W. H. Hudson.⁴ He reports in his book *Far Away and Long Ago* his own experience during a prolonged illness. During the second day of this experience, he fell into recollections of childhood and became so intensely interested in the associations of his early life that the happiness of it compensated for his discomfort and the pain and danger, and he maintained this experience day after day, waking from uneasy sleep to find the vision still before him inviting him to resume his childish adventures. The remarkable char-

jective attitude at once the mental processes are integrated by the coördinated activity involved in carrying out concrete plans and aims. The result is not merely a mental serenity, concentration of attention, and general integration of the personality, but serves as the condition of better processes of assimilation and nutrition, an equalized blood supply, and the normal distribution of glandular secretions probably, together with that reaction of the neuromuscular mechanism that always gives zest and stimulus to the vital physical processes.

It is noteworthy that Kant put it so emphatically. The practical difficulty, however, seems to be that even scientific men themselves seldom become so thoroughly trained in the scientific attitude that this transfers to other things besides their own specialty.

The doing of one's own task develops an objective attitude of mind and an objective method of study. The application of the scientific method to all the activities of daily life would result in the greatest advantage to the mental health. And again as a remedy for the survivals of childish attitudes hardly anything would seem better than the continued training in the study of natural objects, the various branches of science, and the transfer of this scientific method to the objective study of one's self.

Adjustment of the whole personality to a situation develops the objective attitude. This attitude in turn tends to develop the wholesome personality. A few concrete illustrations may well be given.

The Objective Attitude in Times of Stress.—The health value of the objective attitude is especially shown in times of loss, accident, calamity, and illness. All are familiar with the thrilling stories of the modern heroism

"When brought to the foot of the gallows at Banff, he played his 'Farewell,' and then broke his fiddle across his knee and was hanged." (p. 225.)

In such a case the objective attitude is modified apparently by several others, perhaps the following: conceit and the desire for applause, the devotion of a musical artist to his task, and the persistence of the ability to perform habitual acts.

Emotion.—The greatest value perhaps of the objective attitude is shown in control of emotion. At adolescence and often long before that, children and youth are likely to discover that they have remarkable and strange emotional experiences. Often they find also that their actions are determined by these experiences, sometimes pleasantly and efficiently, sometimes injuriously and disastrously. As already noted, they find themselves doing strange things under the influence of emotion; cowardly things from fear, foolish things from love, senseless things from rage, forms of emotional behavior that often produce regret and chagrin afterward. In regard to all these impulsive forms of behavior the objective attitude gives vastly needed help. With this attitude the intense urge of emotion is removed, so that the check of reason can avail. In a single word, the objective attitude makes possible normal control of emotion on the one hand, normal expression of emotion on the other.

Even the scientific man finds it hard to retain the objective attitude in emotion, and hence uses various methods to avoid prejudice and errors due to this inability, the aid of other workers who have less personal interest in the given problem and control observers.

The injury and chagrin and *disintegration* that come to the individual from uncontrolled emotional reactions

acter of this memory of childhood is best given in his own words:

It was to me a marvelous experience; to be here, propped up with pillows in a dimly lighted room, the night-nurse idly dozing by the fire; the sound of the everlasting wind in my ears, howling outside and dashing the rain like hailstones against the windowpanes; to be awake to all this, feverish and ill and sore, conscious of my danger too, and at the same time to be thousands of miles away, out in the sun and wind, rejoicing in other sights and sounds, happy again with that ancient long lost and now recovered happiness! [pp. 198-199.]

Few persons probably have the self-control and imagination to substitute, as Hudson did, old memories and forgotten happiness for the consciousness of pain and illness. Some persons at most might reduce pain somewhat by facing it, giving attention to the pain itself as a sensation; every one, however, can attain something of the objective attitude; and to the degree in which it is achieved it will be helpful.

The Supreme Hour.—Some individuals in all ages—soldiers, saints, workmen, mothers—have been able to face even death itself with an objective attitude. In these cases the mental state seems to be complex and difficult to analyze. A single illustration of this complexity, cited in recent magazine literature,¹² may suffice.

Of MacPherson, a Scottish freebooter, it is reported that while lying in prison under sentence of death he staged a spectacular ending to his life with words and music on his violin of his own composition, closing with these words:

But dauntingly and wantonly
And rantingly I'll gae,
I'll play the tune and dance it roun'
Beneath the gallows tree.

impulses and caprices, the pressure of personal interests, personal grievances and the like interfere, and the ego that all our lives we have coddled and pampered asserts its needs; or perhaps we do not feel like being objective anyway. This is well illustrated by the attitude of the White Linen Nurse, who declares that she cannot keep up the nurse's mien and cannot always look and act like a nurse. "When other people are crying," she exclaims, "I want the privilege of crying too!"

The professional attitude is, of course, good and relatively objective, much superior to the ordinary subjective individual attitudes, but even it may at times cause arrest of development, and prevent the professional man or woman from gaining the larger objective view of science, hygiene, and education.

Another attitude that may speciously substitute itself for the objective attitude is that of the reformer and moralist. This places the emphasis on what should be, what ought to be, and, taking the place of a more subjective attitude, it may easily become dominant in the life of youth, boy, or girl. This may become so common in every social situation that, with its pseudo-objectivity, it deceives the individual. Usually after all it is merely the attitude of blame and a sensitive fear of blame; and while it may take the place of other attitudes still more subjective, it may become a grave hindrance to really objective development.

Another pseudo-objective attitude is that of indifference. "What is it all about?" "What is the game?" "What does it matter anyway?" the adolescent exclaims. This attitude is not uncommon. It is often regarded as a representative college attitude. Some years ago it was called Harvard indifference.

would not in themselves be so bad were it not that, once having made an uncontrolled emotional response, one is apt forthwith to attempt to find excuses for it; to adopt the common technical term used in this discussion, one attempts to *rationalize* it. This behavior is so obviously in conflict with the aim of all scientific study, which is the attainment of truth, that the objective attitude is the one thing that can be trusted to prevent such rationalization.

III. DIFFICULTIES

It is often difficult to achieve and maintain the objective attitude. The most serious reasons for this difficulty are that for the first six or seven years of life we are all naturally egocentric, that in later years many survivals of childish attitudes recur, and that most of us have always favored and stimulated this autistic attitude, and hence permanent patterns of egocentric thinking dominate.

To put it in another way, the subjective egoistic attitudes seem to have the right of way, and suspicion, jealousy, and the chip-on-the-shoulder attitude come promptly, filling consciousness; whereas the objective attitude, if it appears at all, comes with laggard steps.

Again, to maintain the objective attitude is difficult because a number of other attitudes, subtly related to it, are apt to crowd out and supplant the truly objective view. These are in part given below.

Pseudo-objective Attitudes.—The trained members of the different professions and skillful vocations, especially physicians, nurses, teachers and the like, have at their best an objective attitude, but even this sometimes can be maintained only with difficulty. The same emotional

tend to develop objective attitudes. Thus it obviously appears that often parents who would shield their children from ordinary companionship and from the harsher contacts with the child world, by nurses, governesses, tutors, and the like, may be taking a method likely to develop hypertrophied egos and depriving their children of the needed stimuli to the development of a wholesome objective attitude toward the real world. Play, especially the group play of later childhood, gives the finest objective training.

Special Training.—To outgrow anything so insistent and imperative as the subjective egoistic attitudes, training for a long period is likely to be necessary. Throughout childhood and youth special means of training can be tried.

1. The opportunity for doing something concrete in all the objective tasks of a natural environment is one method. Here again the value of spontaneous purposive activity in doing a worth while task appears.

2. Actual training in the scientific method can be begun at an early age by the observation of concrete objects in nature, by attention to quantitative relations in number work and nature study, by testing, as much as possible, the major premise in the examples in arithmetic by reference to the facts of experience, and by objective study in many of the simple things in the child's environment. This, if done naturally, without an attempt to force anything beyond the child's stage of interest and development, will be helpful.

3. Parents and teachers alike can do much toward developing the objective attitude by calling attention, as opportunity arises, to the manifold objective relations in the child's simple activities, not only in a natural environ-

The trouble with these pseudo-objective attitudes is that they are apt to represent a pose and to deceive the individual, who, thinking he has an objective attitude toward life and work, really has merely the same old subjective egoistic attitudes under new aspects and new names.

Shifting Moods.—The difficulty in maintaining the objective attitude is also our tendency to varying moods and temperamental states. We begin our work with the right attitude, then some one of our difficulties, personal troubles, or potentially impending tragedies, occurs, and our minds, like those of children, veer off to emotional and egoistic responses, and only after long training, if ever, does it become possible to hold this objective attitude permanently. In the behavior of everyday life we get manifold illustrations; in daily activity we have ample opportunity for the training needed.

IV. THE OBJECTIVE ATTITUDE IN THE TRAINING OF CHILDREN

General Training.—It is fortunate that social training in general and linguistic training especially, as Piaget¹¹ has pointed out, are means of developing the objective attitude. All normal children, that is, children who have not been spoiled before they learn to talk or afterwards in the early years, apparently have their dominant ego-centric character gradually modified by social and linguistic experiences. Thus the rough and tumble contacts of children on the playground, the natural verbal controversies in the home and on the street, and especially the logical discussions and orderly social activities of the school, all afford means of gradually modifying the autistic character of early thought and speech, and thus

what can adopt this attitude almost at will by merely thinking of the need of it. More concretely, whenever the youth feels aggrieved or has the sting of jealousy or incipient fear, the consciousness of the egoistic feeling is itself a *mnemonic reminder* that one is to use the objective attitude; and those who are helped by a verbal formula can say, "This is a time for the objective attitude."

In normal children objective thinking apparently begins about the age of six or seven, with the social training of the home and the school; and at adolescence this naturally has large opportunity for development.

The value of the objective attitude is shown by testing it in relation to the three great forms of personality disorder in childhood—(1) overdevelopment of the ego or conceit, (2) the sense of inferiority, and (3) the emotion of fear.

Conceit.—Since children during the early years of life are normally egocentric, it is little wonder that with the many conditions that tend to spoil children the ego often becomes overgrown and conceit develops. That the objective attitude is the natural cure for this, at least at the adolescent period, appears from the fact that if the youth is able to discover the truth about self, it becomes clear that only in a very small range of things, in a very few activities, is the individual able to equal or perhaps excel others. Hence the objective attitude, which enables one to discover the self, is likely by contrast to show so vast a field where one has inferior capacity and so small an area where one excels, and so many experiences of failure, that one's few successes are merely enough to maintain a normal self-confidence; conceit atrophies, and a sense of inferiority is liable to develop.

ment, but even in the more artificial environment of the city, especially to the objective conditions in the different social groups. Whenever a child can do something for the sake of the group, the opportunity for developing this attitude occurs. In all emotional experiences the child's attention can be called to the objective relations. Especially when a child is treated unfairly by a playmate, or when jealousy occurs, the intelligent parent and teacher can always point out the objective aspects of the situation—the playmate did not understand, did not mean to be unjust, or perhaps was not well. Such and other forms of special training can be given. The grave danger to be avoided is that of imposing this attitude instead of providing opportunity for its spontaneous growth.

4. A means of stimulating and developing the objective attitude is furnished by an introduction to the great art interests of life, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and the rest. Such training is especially valuable if the artist attitude of interest in creative productive work for its own sake is aroused. This training in some form is possible for all children, if appeal is made to fundamental capacity and this is not deadened by premature drill in technique.

5. Most important of all perhaps in later childhood and in youth is self-training in the objective attitude. A vast number of individuals have been helped by autosuggestion, using formulas like Coué's, "I am growing better every day in every way," or the like. Although this helps many individuals, to some it does not appeal; and some are apt to feel that this is a subtle method of deceiving oneself, that it is foolish. It is quite different, however, with the self-training that may be given in relation to the objective attitude. One who has been trained some-

mental health, because it enables one to focus attention on the objective task and the objective aspects of one's own personality, instead of focussing it on the ego and one's own deficiencies. Thus, although a definite success is likely to be a helpful stimulus, a sense of the objective reality in oneself promises a permanent cure.

Fear.—Fear, in the subacute form of anxiety, hesitancy, overcaution or the like, if not in the extreme form of keen emotion, is again so common in childhood that the faults, defects and failures of a large class of children are due to this emotion. Here again the objective attitude is the great remedy. If the adolescent succeeds in discovering the facts in regard to self, it becomes clear that the objects of fear are either the few violent experiences due to violent change of stimulation or else to harmless associated stimuli; and hence this knowledge of the causes of the emotion does itself largely cast out fear. One who takes the objective attitude when beset by this emotion recognizes at once that nearly all these besetting fears are merely bogies, empty images of imagination, or at the worst merely nightmares, usually things that the individual can himself produce at will and to be regarded like the idle phantasies of childhood.

One should by no means, however, minimize the importance of a hygienic treatment of fear. And where the cause of mental trouble is obscure, a good rule is to search for fear in some form. (See Chapter IX.)

Conceit, the sense of inferiority, and fear are all closely connected, and the objective attitude helps in all of these. To get the facts in regard to the relation of oneself to the world and especially to people one comes in contact with, is of the utmost importance. The depression from all these comes from contrasting ourselves with

Sense of Inferiority.—How common and injurious a sense of inferiority in childhood is likely to be has already been pointed out. Few individuals who have not themselves suffered the experience of a physical or mental disorder can realize how profoundly true is Adler's view that defects are likely to be the basis of this sense of inadequacy. That children with any defect are subject to numerous conditions that cause this attitude has been made familiar in recent years. It is difficult for adults to appreciate the fact. However, one who himself by accident or misfortune acquires some defect, like a crippled limb, or defective hearing or vision, gains an insight, in a small way at least, into the state of mind of children with similar or other defects. In loss of vision, for example, this sense of inferiority is emphasized by contrast with one's own past. One finds oneself balked by inability to do a hundred things one had done before, and many things one had learned to do automatically one must now do slowly, consciously, and with meticulous care.

For this sense of inferiority the objective attitude is a sovereign preventive and remedy. If this enables the youth to discover self, it becomes clear that one's limited ability is similar to that of all other individuals, that one's own self, whatever it may be, is one's own unique gift and usually represents, at least potentially, superiority in some small field. This insight often helps one to give up trying to do many things imperfectly and enables one, by being oneself and limiting one's efforts to the scope of one's real powers, to achieve a superiority in a limited field that would be impossible otherwise. Thus in case of such youth the objective attitude is the one thing that removes the condition injurious to the

is the more familiar one. For education and the mental health this attitude is of prime importance. Fortunately it is the slogan of modern education. Ever since Comenius⁶ emphasized "less teaching and more learning," wise teachers have seen that the important thing is not the teacher's persistence in teaching, but rather the opportunity of the child to learn. This doctrine has been made concrete by one teacher in the maxim, "Teach if you are cornered, otherwise let the children learn." It is true that many formulate the aim of the normal schools as the development of the spirit of the teacher or the like, but those who have insight put the emphasis rather on the development of the spirit of the learner. Of this important and familiar form of the objective attitude we may say that the spirit of the learner in itself is a great asset to the mental health of any one who acquires it, whether teacher or student. The highest form of the learning attitude is the scientific attitude, and the scientific method is the great means of developing this attitude.

What, it may be asked, is this scientific state of mind of which we boast so greatly? To answer this question it is well to recall the scientific method. This will be helpful even to nonscientific students. To state this method in the briefest terms, it is the study of things in their genesis and wider causal relations by first-hand observation of significant facts, the study of these facts if possible by experiment under controlled conditions, and by verification.

To use the scientific method successfully one must be open-minded, have the spirit of the learner, seek to learn the truth, and, where data are inadequate, suspend judgment.

others as we imagine them. The objective view, giving a larger vision and a more true perspective of real relations, largely removes this depression.

Concrete examples show how men of affairs sometimes are aware of the necessity for the objective attitude. A friend of mine had the duty of presenting a large business problem before a group of prominent English capitalists, including members of Parliament and other distinguished individuals. A country boy, with limited means of scholastic education and without opportunity of coming in contact with distinguished personalities, he had only common sense, his native wit, and a thorough knowledge of his subject as preparation. He reasoned, however, that these great leaders holding distinguished positions after all were merely men with limitations like himself, and hence he came before them with confidence and presented his subject successfully. This is merely one example among a thousand where the objective attitude has proved helpful. Seen in large perspective, all men have their limitations, their defects and disabilities, and each normal individual on the other hand has certain abilities and potentialities. Seen from the Eiffel Tower the differences between the dwarf and the giant are insignificant, and viewed in right perspective the contrast between the lowest and the highest among normal individuals is not great enough to frighten any one. We may say perhaps that one who sees the real facts in regard to all men has no sense of inferiority in himself.

V. THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE

The Learning Attitude.—The highest forms of the objective attitude, essentially the same, are the learning attitude and the scientific attitude. The learning attitude

the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his words are not heard. [Ecclesiastes, 9:14-16.]

The safety of the world depends upon science; but science is the poor wise man, literally poor because the money appropriated for scientific research is so meager, literally wise because its wisdom is based on knowledge that can be verified.

Misunderstandings.—A few misunderstandings of the objective attitude may occur. These are not serious. One subtle criticism, however, may well be mentioned. Since we have noted the scientific attitude as the perfection of the objective attitude, some one is likely to ask, "Why then do scientific men break down?" "Why are they not superior to others in mental health?" Perhaps they are. No adequate data to answer this question are available so far as I am aware; but the answer is that the scientific attitude, as is well known, often does not transfer even from one field of science to another, and especially it may not transfer from the scientific laboratory to the conditions of social and domestic life. Hence this may be the cause of breakdown in superior scientific students.

A tragic example was that of my former colleague, Arthur Gordon Webster. A brilliant thinker in the field of physics, and a scientific student with a rigorous scientific attitude, humble and generous in recognizing this attitude in others; when difficulties and mental trials accumulated he was unable to stand the strain by transferring the objective attitude to his own personal difficulties, but gave up the struggle, and the fatal result followed.

Introverts and the Objective Attitude.—One distinction should be carefully noted. The classification of

The Goal of Science.—The aim of science has always been to find out the real facts, to avoid mere opinion and prejudice. By this aim and this method the scientific attitude is developed. It accepts the truth wherever it may lead, and places it above all doctrines and authorities. This was expressed concretely years ago, when science was in its infancy, by the great Renaissance scholar Reuchlin,⁷ who said, "I reverence St. Jerome as an angel, I prize Nicholas de Lyra as a great teacher, but truth I adore as God." (p. 227.)

The Usual Attitude Toward Science.—The attitude of the public toward science is significant. It is largely a subjective group attitude. Without attempting to analyze it, one aspect claims attention. Although everybody admires the spectacular results of scientific discovery, the telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, radio and the like, there is no deep-seated sense of public responsibility for the support of science, as there is for education, charity, public health, good roads, the institutions of church and state. Moreover, the amount of money appropriated to public institutions for scientific research is relatively meager.

Science is the hope of civilization, but it is largely ignored, and the scientific method often neglected. It is like the poor wise man mentioned by the great preacher in the remarkable but not too familiar Bible story:

There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it, and besieged it, and built great bulwarks against it.

Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man.

Then said I, wisdom is better than strength: nevertheless

expected to show that every normal child may, by training from early years, acquire this attitude to such an extent that it will function in times of difficulty and disease for the personal health of the individual. If this be so, then the attainment of this attitude is of vast importance. *Just as the development of modern science dates from the Copernican view of the center of things outside of the earth and of man himself, in like manner the substitution of the broader objective attitude for the childish egocentric view of one's own life makes a revolution equally great in the personal hygiene of the individual.* It may be hoped that the general spread of this scientific attitude toward human life, *as the result of early training, will make a contribution to mental hygiene as great as that made to science by the discovery of Copernicus.* At present the general neglect of science is equaled by the general absence of the scientific attitude.

This service of science to mankind, so vastly important, so little appreciated, is on the other hand equaled probably by the aid given by the scientific attitude to each individual who can receive it. This represents the highest and fullest development of mental health. It furnishes the stimulus and support needed for efficient and healthful work, it saves one from the most serious dangers and pitfalls of the human mind, it is the great preventive of mental disorders; for the conceit of knowledge, for the biting sting of jealousy, and for the humiliating sense of inadequacy and fear, it is both the preventive and remedy. It rescues the individual from futile and delusive forms of rationalization in the attempt to find excuses for emotional snap judgments, and, by arousing the spirit of the learner, provides the conditions necessary for wholesome development.

individuals into those with the subjective attitude dominant and those with the objective attitude dominant is not the same thing as the classification into introverts and extraverts. One's attitude toward one's own sensations, perceptions, feelings, and emotions may be objective as well as one's attitude toward the objects in one's environment. The poet and artist as well as the trained psychologist may have an objective attitude toward the ideals and emotions they depict. The scientist may be an introvert in spite of continued study of external objects, and the trained introvert may be as objectively scientific as the extravert. It may be harder for the former than for the latter to attain the scientific attitude. Fewer scientists may be introverts than extraverts. We do not know. Goethe and Kipling seem to have had in large degree the objective attitude without its interfering with their ability to portray emotion. Goethe was both scientist and poet; but whether he was introvert or extravert is not clear. No adequate study of these two so-called types among scientists and poets has been made. The imperative appeal of external objects cannot be resisted; hence all of us have to some degree the objective attitude. So insistent are our emotions also that none are altogether without the subjective attitude. Nevertheless the number of those dominantly subjective in their attitude is perhaps greater than of those dominantly objective. With all the objective training possible we need not fear that poets will die out.

The Scientific Attitude as a Health Asset.—Although the value of scientific knowledge is now recognized by everybody, few have considered the value of the scientific attitude as a health asset in itself. Nevertheless, evidence, although at present lacking, may confidently be

be in control of emotion and the prevention of rationalization of emotional snap judgments.

8. The highest form of the objective attitude is the learning attitude, and the highest form of the learning attitude is the scientific attitude.

9. The scientific attitude is made clear by the goal of scientific method, which is the knowledge of reality, the attainment of truth.

10. Combined with the scientific attitude is usually found a willingness to face reality, and a suspension of judgment where adequate data for finding truth are not available.

11. The great contribution of mental hygiene to science is in showing that the scientific attitude is a health asset in itself.

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The objective attitude appears in many forms, but, whether in what the ordinary man calls mere common sense and willingness to face facts in the humility that does not think of itself more highly than it ought to think and in the readiness to do the fitting thing in every situation, or in extended scientific research in field and laboratory, often with complex technique in observation, experiment and verification; in whatever form, it is a healthful attitude and a prime condition of the development of the wholesome personality.

SUMMARY

1. In relation to mental health two main attitudes, the subjective and the objective, are significant.
2. These are not the same as introversion and extraversion. Even the introvert may acquire the ability to regard his own mental processes objectively.
3. The most familiar contrast between these two attitudes is the distinction between mine and thine.
4. The value of the objective attitude for the wholesome personality has been recognized by wise men in all ages.
5. In modern times the health value of the objective attitude as a condition of mental serenity, integration of the personality and even as a condition favoring physical health, was emphasized by the German philosopher Kant.
6. The health value of the objective attitude has been shown most emphatically by the fact that in disordered personalities it is difficult to develop an objective attitude toward life and one's work, while in normal personalities the objective attitude is usual or can be developed by training.
7. The greatest value of the objective attitude seems to

CHAPTER VIII

DISINTEGRATING CONDITIONS

FROM birth the human organism is bombarded with disintegrating stimuli. From earliest infancy also there occurs a *form of assimilation and association of the distracting stimuli*, that is, of new sensations, perceptions, impulses, and ideas; in a word, the integration of the new with the old.

Whether stimuli prove disintegrating or not depends upon many conditions, especially on the general integration of the individual as determined by *past habits and present attention to one's task*, as well as on the strength of the distracting stimuli. Some of the stimuli that under most conditions are distracting to persons are the following: hunger, thirst, fatigue, illness, pain, failure, and the different emotions. A few of these general causes may be especially considered and then some of the ten thousand details.

SOME MAJOR CAUSES OF DISINTEGRATION

Hunger

Under most conditions hunger is a more or less disintegrating condition. This upsets the child, and even adults are likely to be disintegrated by it, for it opens the door to other disintegrating stimuli. Thus Napoleon is reported to have said that "two o'clock in the morning courage is rare." At this hour an individual is likely

9. MARSTON, W., *The Emotions of Normal People* (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1928), 405 pp.
10. MURCHISON, C., Editor, *The Foundations of Experimental Psychology* (Worcester, Clark University Press, 1929), 907 pp.
11. PIAGET, J., *The Child's Conception of the World*, translated by J. and A. Tomlinson (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1929), 397 pp.
12. STEWART, C. D., "The Art of Dying," *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 144 (1929), pp. 219-225.
13. WARREN, H. C., "The Organic World and the Causal Principle," *Science*, Vol. 71 (1930), pp. 204-208.

It dulls the sense of hearing, obscures vision, reduces the discriminative dermal sensibility; it impedes muscular coördination; it increases errors in intellectual processes; it decreases morale, makes the school boy a failure, the soldier a coward, and sometimes makes even the statesman play the fool; it disintegrates the individuality, makes the housewife feel as if she "would fly into inch pieces"; it rattles the ball player, and makes the child explode in tantrums. Of fatigue as a disintegrating factor either much should be said or little. As all are familiar with it, little here will suffice.

In the school, some say, not pupils but only teachers are fatigued. Many methods for testing fatigue have been devised and many investigations have been made²³; but how common fatigue among school children is, we do not know. Among the best signs of fatigue in the school-room are restlessness, irritability, lack of coördination appearing in dropping things, errors in speech, and the like. Judging by these, plenty of fatigue both among teachers and pupils occurs, and whether in child or adult it is a serious condition of disintegration. *Special care* should be taken to avoid overfatigue. The aim of hygiene is to develop power of attention and the ability to resist fatigue. The way to develop power of resistance to fatigue in children is by short periods of intense work followed by periods of rest.

Illness

Not only is illness, as everybody recognizes, the specially serious condition of disintegration of the personality, but lack of complete health is a handicap also. Great numbers of people who call themselves well are only 30, 40, or 50 per cent, or perhaps at most 70 per

to be hungry as well as still fatigued from the work of the previous day.

The significance of the disintegration from lack of proper food in relation to school work is best illustrated by the multitude of children who go to school each morning hungry; the poor from lack of any suitable breakfast; the well-to-do often because of lack of appetite, improper food habits, and the haste with which breakfast is eaten. In many places, both of these classes lack suitable lunches as well. Where wholesome lunches have been introduced, this has added greatly to the health of the children and the efficiency of their school work.

Thirst

Extreme thirst is likely to be more disintegrating than hunger. The nervous system, among the bodily tissues, requires an unusually large amount of water for its normal functioning. When the baby is upset, unless hunger and fatigue are the causes, the disintegrating condition is likely to be thirst. In many nervous conditions the best sedative is a copious draft of pure water. An abundance of pure drinking water is an essential in every school.

Fatigue

Fatigue opens the door to all forms of disintegration. The tired child is likely to be dull, slow, irritable, naughty. The weary workman is inefficient, blunders, and has many accidents. The weary audience is inattentive, wriggles, squirms, and whispers. This is true whether the group of listeners be the school class or the crowd in the auditorium.

It has many disintegrating effects, varying with the degree of fatigue and the individual make-up of the person.

the individual thinking of most men and women. It is merely hygienic truthfulness, merely calling things by their right names, to note that the widely prevalent lack of full health in such a large percentage of people of all occupations, is definitely ill health, physical or mental, or disorder of the total personality, and that all the excuses for this lack of health are rightly called false remedies for disintegration.

Heroes of Illness.—The most instructive cases of illness in relation to work are the vast multitude of individuals who do their daily tasks in spite of the handicap of defect and disease, heroes of illness, they may rightly be called. One thinks at once of General Grant, writing his memoirs while fighting an incurable disease, and many others who accepted their physical and mental disorders as merely handicaps in the game of life and performed their daily tasks cheerfully and efficiently. Further concrete examples may be found in Gould's *Biographical Clinics*.¹¹

Similar examples among ordinary men and women, workmen, professional and business men, students and teachers, might be cited in great numbers—sufferers from permanent illness known only to a few friends, not even perhaps to the family doctor, men and women who, in spite of this illness, are efficient and happy, not only doing their work, but playing their part successfully in the game of life as good fathers and mothers, interesting social companions and worthy citizens. Thus can human personality, in spite of serious disintegrating factors, rise above them to higher levels of integration.

Disease and the Ego.—When, as often happens, illness is complicated with extreme egoism, unless there is integration at a low level about the ego itself, the dis-

cent, efficient. To bring an individual up to a condition of real health, both physical and mental, that is, health of the whole personality, would be the greatest asset possible for personal efficiency. It is true that the effect of different diseases is different. Some persons can work for a short time in spite of serious illness. Some can work continuously in spite of some chronic illness; and many can work in spite of diseases like so-called rheumatism, for example, and yet can do nothing in case of certain diseases or defects that may be no more serious. One's ability to work is determined largely, as we have already seen, by the mental attitudes of the individual.

Health and Efficiency.—Here no sharp division between mind and body is to be made. All the minor ills, indigestion, headache, nervousness, rheumatism, and the rest, which interfere with the euphoria and efficiency of the day's work, are, as hygiene looks upon the matter, positive although minor forms of illness. In like manner all the personality disorders, which we are apt to look upon as more especially mental troubles, all the conditions that in greater or less degree distract and disintegrate the personality, and all minor mental conflicts, and the like, are forms of lack of health, positive illness of the personality, if one prefer.

Insincerity.—A great number of these forms of disintegration may be summed up under the word insincerity. This word in fact originally meant lack of integration, and thus lack of sincerity may naturally be used for many forms of mental disorder. Such are the false remedies used for conditions of disintegration, the various excuses, alibis, defense mechanisms, self-deceptions, rationalizations, errors, camouflaged delusions, and the like, so common, not only in all social groups, but in

conveyances, and only occasionally permitted to play with other boys. So his whole life was built around the problem of ill health. [p. 40.]

This is a representative case. Thousands of the most intelligent parents make the center of a child's training the problem of ill health, and this cultivation of a fear of disease may in the end be worse for the child than illness itself.

The Egoist as Invalid.—Even in later life when the egoist becomes a doctor's patient, extreme manifestations of the self appear. Then of all times one's self is likely to be the center of the universe. In many cases nobody else ever had a comparable illness; nobody else was ever so sick, ever suffered so much pain, ever came so near a fatal result; or perchance nobody else ever had the given disease so lightly, nobody else was such a model, nobody else withstood it so well; or again in many cases, no one ever was so seriously ill and made such a remarkable recovery.

The physician has especially good opportunity to observe the character of the patient. The egoist comes to the doctor with this self-centered attitude, no other case assumes such importance, no other so urgently demands immediate attention. That physician will prove successful who can make an adequate response and attend to the patient with such concentration that, for the time being, he seems to give undivided attention to the one and only important thing in the universe, the person sick. No wonder the ego thrives during illness.

Pain

Of all sensations received by the human organism, pain is at once the most interesting and most perplexing.

integrating effect may be great. It may be helpful to consider this relation between illness and the development of the ego. Children who suffer from frequent illness are apt to become little egoists. None of us can avoid thinking about ourselves when suffering from pain and disease. The number of adults who devote a large part of their thinking to themselves and their own disorders and had feelings is so great that we recognize the truth Joseph Lee expresses when he says that the thing most needed by many people is to forget their own health. To prevent overdevelopment of self-consciousness, children suffering from chronic disease should have special care by simple forms of occupational therapy, the giving of suitable tasks they can perform, even during illness and convalescence.

By a subtle irony always liable to follow the footsteps of hygiene, the parents' care to prevent disease may be even worse than disease itself.

This overanxiety and unwise care of a child's health by parents is liable to be especially dangerous to normal development. Thom³³ found an unhappy boy in camp who furnishes an example.

A Queer Boy.—He spent a good deal of the time by himself, and was looked upon by the other boys as queer, peculiar, eccentric. He had not participated in swimming, riding, and playing games; and, on the whole, he had been an undesirable comrade. . . . The question was, why should a boy ten years of age be queer, peculiar, and eccentric, standing out alone among sixty other boys? . . . Five years ago the boy's mother died of an acute infection. The father was so emotionally upset that he began to build this boy's life around ill health. He got a nurse for the boy, and she was told that this child must be protected against every possibility of sickness. The boy was not allowed to go to the public school or the private school, but had tutors at home. He was not allowed to ride on public

Since we have special nerves for this sensation, one might naturally expect that pain, like sound and light, would be a definite sensory experience. We have, however, many different kinds of pain which we distinguish as sharp, dull, shooting, boring, piercing, and the like. It is often illusive and we cannot locate it. It may appear to be anywhere or everywhere, or, as in case of pain in a lost limb, nowhere. Often the pain is felt at a place far distant from the cause. When we have evidence of a definite cause, we call it real pain; when we find all evidence of an objective cause is lacking, we call it hysterical. Pain also may be pleasant, or, as we express it, we may have painful pleasures. Pain related to scratching and to exercise is sometimes pleasant. On the other hand, it may be distressing to a degree that is maddening or even terror inspiring. Thus it is the most mysterious of all sensations and may become the most disintegrating of all stimuli. In regard to what may be called the hygiene of pain, we know little, but a few facts helpful or suggestive from the point of view of health may be presented.

Just as in spite of hygiene and civilization all men in some degree suffer the torment of fear; so, sooner or later, in greater or less degree, all human beings are distracted by pain.

Pain in its effect upon the personality is not perhaps as serious as fear; but for the time being in any case pain disintegrates; and when we reflect that a large percentage of children suffer from physical defects or chronic disease, and that from 60 to 80 per cent of school children in the elementary grades have defective teeth, we see at once how serious this disintegrating condition is likely to be, especially during the early years of child-

is vigorously functioning. While this integrating function of the cortex continues, no pain is felt. When this intense functioning lets down, pain occurs. The clinical studies indicate the obverse side of this.

Lower Center the Seat of Pain.—It would not be in place here to speak of the physiology and anatomy of the human brain and central nervous system. One fact, however, is familiar perhaps to all, namely, that there are higher and lower levels in the central nervous system. To put the matter in its very simplest form, the highest, most recently developed, and controlling part of the brain is the cortex, and this is especially the organ of association and integration. The investigations of neurologists indicate that the seat of conscious pain is in a lower center, the thalamus, and that it is not functioned by the cortex. In extreme concentration of attention, as just noted, the cortex is the part of the brain especially functioning; and anything like pain functioned by a lower center in a normal condition is under cortical control.

Head and Cannon and other neurologists have found evidence that indicates that other feelings as well as pain are functioned by the thalamus. Evidence for the thalamus as the center of affective responses is furnished also by the observation that when unilateral damage occurs to the brain, which isolates certain parts of the thalamus from the cortex, the emotional responses to all the affective stimuli are increased. The prick of a pin, painful pressure, excessive heat or cold, all produce a more excessive unpleasant feeling on the abnormal than on the normal side of the body. On the other hand, pleasurable warmth produces an unusually pleasant response. Hence Head and Holmes conclude, since affec-

states that pain is appreciably diminished if one can give close attention to it. According to his results, to cite them in his own words, pleasure and pain "disappear entirely if we succeed (and we can succeed only for a moment) in making the feeling as such the object of attentive observation." (p. 430.)

Any one who wishes can try this experiment in the dentist chair. For myself I have found that while, as Külpe points out, it may be difficult to focus attention on the sensation itself, if one succeeds in doing this the pain does seem to be appreciably diminished.

Again in hypnosis, the condition in which one is hypnotized, such an extreme integration has been obtained that surgical operations have been performed without pain to the patient, just as in anæsthesia from drugs. It is instructive to study such cases of insensibility to pain.

Reducing Pain by Integration.—Usually we think of pain as an objective reality over which we have no power except by removing the physical cause, or by drugs, or the like. That is not altogether true. Why does the orator, absorbed in his speaking, feel no pain when he strikes the desk and wounds his hand? Why is the boxer insensible to the pain of broken bones until after the contest is over? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to turn for a few minutes to consider the nervous control of the physical organism and the functioning of the nerve centers that forms the physical basis for the sensation of pain. Fortunately the English neurologists Head^{12,13} and Gordon^{9,10} and others have made recent investigations that throw much light on this problem.

In all cases of extreme concentration the brain cortex

his hand after an injury, although the organic lesion had been entirely cured. By treatment, however, in a relatively short time he was able to catch a ball in his hand without pain. And similar cases have shown a like recovery. The method employed in these cases was that of cure by applying a stronger stimulus, somewhat as hot water, even so hot as to be painful, often is a cure of pain. Just why the more intense stimulus should effect this result is not clear, but apparently it establishes cortical control over the lower neural processes.

Gordon¹⁰ defines hysterical pain as "a release phenomenon in which, owing to functional dissociation of cortical control, the more primitive sensory system, convergent upon the optic thalamus, is unmasked and holds sway." (p. 224.) In other words, without control from the cortex, any pain sensation, especially any hysterical pain, seems likely to be greatly intensified. Hysterical pain especially seems due to lack of cortical control.

The most important means of cure are counter suggestion, *reëducation*, and anything that helps to re-establish integration on the cortical level. Thus in a single word, the cure of hysterical pain is in accordance with this explanation of its origin. In somewhat technical language Gordon¹⁰ gives the following instructions to a patient of this kind he treated.

At the time you were wounded, or when you were first ill, the nerves of sensation conveyed messages as far as a low level in your brain. At this level sensation is interpreted very vaguely, simply as pain or something unpleasant. The highest levels of your brain, which deal with fine discrimination of all varieties of sensation, were temporarily put out of action. This state of affairs has continued long after physical recovery of the injury has taken place. Because you dread all sensation coming from

tive states are increased when the thalamus is freed from cortical control, that the thalamic center especially functions the affective processes.

Cannon has noted that similar evidence is afforded by the cases of children born without the cerebral hemispheres. Such children show signs of distress and grief when subjected to injurious stimuli. Cannon also finds evidence that the primitive emotions of fear, joy and grief are functioned subcortically and especially in the thalamic region. In human beings this is seen in the effects of anæsthetics. In the second stage of ether anæsthesia there may be sobbing, as in grief, or laughter and joy, but when consciousness is recovered, the patient does not recall these.

"In all these instances," says Cannon,⁶ "of absence of cortical function, primitive emotional reactions are as perfectly performed as are the reflexes of coughing, sneezing, sucking, and swallowing, that is, they are complicated automatisms. In all these complicated acts the nerve impulses run their appointed course according to phylogenetic patterns and without individual instruction or training." (p. 264.)

Hysterical Pain.—Cases of so-called hysterical pain are instructive. Such is the pain felt after a limb has been amputated, the pain projected by the individual into the imaginary limb, or limb as remembered, that takes the place of the one lost, or it may be a pain that persists in an organ after recovery from an injury. Such hysterical pains are common. Everybody perhaps has had them or knows at first hand of such cases.

Gordon gives a number of cases where hysterical pain of very serious intensity has been cured by the methods he refers to. In one case a man had very severe pain in

perhaps distinct pain of the eyes; but if the subject matter is *extremely interesting*, as one goes on and becomes absorbed in the reading, the pain *disappears*. The higher functioning of the cortex, correlated with the interest in the reading, inhibits whatever discomfort and pain came from the thalamus in the beginning.

Such a *mental regimen*, as described above, which accepts the presence of pain and attempts to make the best of it, suggests the possibility of a hygienic training from childhood that will make children ready to face certain forms of discomfort, if not stoically, at least hygienically. This is not shutting one's eyes to the facts; but it is rather a method of cortical control of lower mental processes.

The function of pain is commonly supposed to be the warning of danger. True enough, pain often enables us to prevent serious injury. The pain of a sliver in my hand, for example, leads me to remove the sliver and hence avoid more serious results; but as soon as an intelligent diagnosis of the cause of pain and use of the proper remedy take the place of mere feeling, the pain remains as a useless, injurious, and disintegrating factor. This is the reason that in many disorders the use of opium or some anæsthetic is so valuable. The nervous system is saved from the shock of pain while the necessary remedies are being used or nature is bringing about the process of recovery. Thus Crile's anoci-association method in surgical operation proves valuable in many cases.

Just as fear in modern conditions is usually a useless and injurious emotion, so with the advent of the new brain in organic evolution pain apparently becomes largely useless.

the affected area, your brain is still involuntarily blocking the stream of sensation. You must now learn to tolerate all forms of maximal sensory stimuli; by so doing all ordinary forms of stimulation, for example, contact with the air, with clothes, with the ground, will cease to arouse your attention, much less your fear or dread. When this stage is reached the blocking of sensory impulses to the highest discriminating levels of your brain will have ceased, and once more you will appreciate all sensations at their true value. [p. 232.]

All persons probably have a large number of at least minor hysterical pains; and, if it were possible to remove these, a vast deal of discomfort would be removed and a great increase in the general euphoria result. One of the concrete problems of mental hygiene is to determine how this result can be effected.

Many more studies are needed, but apparently a great deal could be done by studying the facts in regard to pain and by applying hygienic principles based on the more recent physiology and psychology.

The Hygiene of Pain.—One of the fundamental conditions of mental as well as physical health is what may be called hygienic behavior in relation to pain. Of all this, while we know little, the knowledge we have is in itself significant.

Apparently any very strong sensation whatever is painful, at least as long as mental integration and the functioning of the cortex are not involved. But as soon as the cortex functions in correlation with the higher and finer discrimination of sensations, the pain subsides. Perhaps a not uncommon experience in reading, especially if one's eyes are sensitive, will make this clearer. If one attempts to read fine print in a poorly lighted room, at first one is likely to feel discomfort and strain or

other school subjects, the competitions of every kind in every sport and industry that give the reward or prize or position to those who work most rapidly, and the general standards in everything; all these have exalted speed as a prime objective in practical education. Besides this, recently the introduction of exercises in speed into the public schools in many subjects has again placed the stamp of merit and educational approval upon the quickness with which work is done.

Accuracy.—On the other hand psychological experiments have shown that where the objective in mental work is accuracy, where the instructions given by the experimenter concretely emphasize this, the results in the mental achievement are quite different from those where the emphasis is placed upon working as quickly as possible; and sometimes, at least, show more rapid work.

Speed in Mental Tests.—It is true, to be sure, that the speed with which many mental tests are performed by a child is a most important mark of ability and development. Value is placed on this quality of a pupil's achievement, not so much because of the value in speed itself as because this is a significant characteristic of the individual personality. In cases of this kind it should be noted, however, that the speed which is deemed so significant is what may be called a natural, not an artificial, speed. It is the rate with which the individual child naturally works where given freedom to take one's own time, not the artificial speed that is favored by school practice in speed exercises.

Again it is true that in those individuals who naturally work rapidly the quality of the performance may be better than those who naturally work slowly. This, however, is a very different thing from what is likely to be

School children are always getting minor injuries, and pain is a more important factor in relation to the child's behavior and mental condition than most people suppose. The normal child does not wish to be cooed over and treated as a mollycoddle, but does like to have sympathy and proper treatment of minor injuries, and needs the support of his own task. Patri³⁰ makes Robert describe the right attitude of the teacher as follows:

"She's just as nice to us as she can be. If you have a pain or anything she finds out what is the matter with you, and if you skin a knee or something she'll fix it up and tell you to go on with your work. She don't dear and darling you but she's all right. You 'tend to business."

Haste

The physical conditions of disintegration mentioned seldom occur by themselves. They are modified by emotions and mental attitudes that are distracting in themselves. Among these are haste, chagrin, extreme conceit, a sense of inferiority, and any strong emotion such as fear in all its forms. Besides these, certain more especially mental forms of disintegration require consideration. In the practical work of education and hygiene one of the most serious of these mental conditions is haste. The teachings and maxims of the older educators and moralists who always emphasized the value of time, the grievous penalties from loss of time, and the need of saving the golden minutes, on the one hand; and on the other hand the exigencies of modern life, which in many occupations have made quickness an essential condition of successful performance, not to mention the emphasis placed by many educators on speed in arithmetic and

believe that that boy was a striking illustration of arrested development, coming from overstimulus, and overtraining in one direction. [p. 219.]

Hygiene always looks with grave suspicion upon such cases of arrested development. The attitude of sound pedagogy toward such embodiments of speed and accuracy was expressed by Oliver Wendell Holmes¹⁴ in his *Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*. Commenting on Babbage's calculating machine he wrote:

"What a satire, by the way, is that machine on the mere mathematician! A Frankenstein monster, a thing without brains and without heart, too stupid to make a blunder; that turns out results like a corn-sheller, and never grows any wiser or better, though it grind a thousand bushels of corn." Here are speed and accuracy!

Whenever speed in arithmetic involves an artificial rhythm and haste, it is likely to degenerate into a jazz exercise, as in case of Miss Bradford's boy, or else to develop into a nervous form of activity. In either case it is injurious. In general the statement by Myers that the reason pupils work so slowly is because we try to make them work so fast, is often true.

Thus the artificial haste often required by the new methods is a serious matter. The supervisor requires haste, the children feel obliged to hasten through the textbook—many books give examples in speed; and so the schools are bound to emphasize it. Really, however, if this is bad for an adult, it is worse for a child, because a child's association-reaction time, as experiments have shown, is very much longer than in an adult. Although the child's circulatory system is better fitted than that of an adult for rapid muscular exercise in short periods, the child's central nervous system seems poorly adapted

the objective in drill exercises. If the speed developed is merely the natural rate of work of the individual child without any effort to hurry and without any artificial stimulus, so much the better. Such ability to work quickly is a valuable asset to the individual personality, but any other form of speed is likely to be injurious to healthful development. Experiments by Thorndike and others indicate also that a rapid pace of mental work, other things being equal, causes less fatigue than a slow rate of work.

In any case, work that is adjusted to the natural rate and rhythm of the individual is healthful, but any attempt at speed that causes an artificial haste and nervousness is unhealthful.

The teacher is apt to desire above all things speed and accuracy in arithmetical work. Hygiene notes the secondary results of the drill in speed and accuracy. These results are sometimes seriously unfortunate. The following concrete illustration is instructive:

I remember [writes M. D. Bradford,³ a teacher] a primary class that was once brought into a meeting of the teachers of a certain Wisconsin city. The superintendent's purpose was to illustrate the wonderful perfection in "speed and accuracy" to which the teacher had brought her class. Long examples in addition were dictated to the children, written on the blackboard, and computed. There was one boy who attracted particular attention. He showed the high pitch of strain to which he was raised by not being still a moment—a sort of jig being performed while the process of reckoning was going on. He usually came out ahead of the others and excelled in accuracy. I was a high-school teacher long enough there to have this boy come into my classes for his higher mathematics. I found him incapable of thinking in those subjects. My subsequent reading of child-study investigations leads me to

one feels forced to continue and work harder and harder. The more one becomes fatigued, the more extreme may be the concentration. This again is liable to be pathological, but every one probably has had some experience of it.

In the stress and strain of modern life, with the many exciting opportunities for work and recreation, the individual with good integration and strong power of concentrated attention is always liable to continue work until such tetanus of attention occurs and one becomes the victim of the kinetic drive, as Crile has so well named it.

A Lost Object.—Some people never go to pieces so badly as when they lose something, whether the tool of their work or the memory of a name and address, or the like. For example, take the individual who is dependent upon lenses for clear vision and who loses his glasses. Of minor matters nothing perhaps is more pathetic. It is not merely a matter of temporary helplessness, but the associated or conditioned reflexes developed in connection with normal vision and normal activity when using one's lenses seem to be inhibited, and the activity in searching for the missing tool may become disintegrating. One begins the search with good hope, searches every possible lurking place with meticulous care, but in vain. A moment ago the tool of work was at hand, now it is nowhere. The most satisfactory explanation of such loss of important articles was a humorous one given some years ago by the late G. Stanley Hall. At least no other hypothesis so well suggests the loser's mental attitude. The universe is old, at present bits of nowhere are mixed with reality, and your missing article has slipped into one of these potholes, it actually is nowhere.

to exercises of speed. The association-reaction time of adults is from one and one-half to two seconds, that of the child was found by Meumann to be sometimes from five to ten seconds. What is the effect, hygiene asks, of the rapid speech common to-day, the jazz music, the rapid talk of most speakers over the radio, the common demand for quick answers in the classroom, the special speed exercises widely adopted in the schools? What may be the effect on the nervous system and the mind of all of these demands upon the child for quick responses?

Abnormal Attention

By one of the apparent paradoxes of hygiene, sometimes the concentration of attention in the performance of a task may become abnormal. Thus a subtle form of disintegration may appear to be integration itself.

In a certain sense there are pathological forms of integration just as of every other normal mental function. This is shown in an extreme degree in some forms of mania, where the whole attention centers on the doing of one thing, and thought and feeling are related to one special topic. Its counterpart in the normal is shown in that extreme form of attention that sometimes characterizes the activity of child or adult, what has been fittingly called a tetanus of attention, where it seems impossible for the individual to inhibit a certain form of activity and turn attention from one thing to something else.

Even in attention to one's own task an extreme form of concentration may be unwholesome. Thus when reading an exciting story one may become so absorbed that one cannot stop and a certain cramp of attention occurs; or when working at a more serious task, after a time the attention cannot be transferred to something else, but

Uncontrolled Emotion

As already suggested, a tremendously important factor in conditioning the integration of an individual is emotion, and the *most serious disintegrating conditions* are usually emotional. It should be noted here, however, that with an hygienic control of emotion and hygienic solution of one's personal emotional problems, the integration of the individual is vastly enhanced. Emotion is defined by some psychologists in substance as a "stirred-up" or disintegrated condition of the organism. It would be more accurate perhaps to say that emotion is often a prime condition of disintegration. It may become, however, when directed by reason, a stimulus and an aid.

Jastrow,¹⁷ in his excellent outline of the psychology of emotion, expressed this carefully and wisely when he said in part: "*We must definitely recognize the emotional impediments of thought. Superstition, prejudice, dogma, form a human record vast and dismal, a permanent warning of the dangers attending the life of reason.*" He notes, however, the significance of the study of emotion for hygiene as follows: "*The renaissance of emotional psychology derives its largest warrant from its practical value in understanding and directing human motives as the mainsprings of action. The adjustment of feeling and thinking in that cause remains the great desideratum.*" (p. 36.)

Children with lack of emotional control are likely enough to show all the general conditions of disintegration. Such children are apt to be retarded in school work on account of their unfortunate emotional reactions, and yet are often of unusual intelligence. Space may be

Such at least is the loser's state of mind, but with feverish activity he searches all places until the search becomes an obsession; not content with searching the spots where reason and experience suggest hope of finding the glasses, the victim hunts in every conceivable nook and corner, until a sort of cramp or tetanus of attention develops and the search can hardly be given up. Then if the loser becomes sensible, he reflects that after all the glasses are not worth the trouble of hunting for them further, and it were far better to give them up altogether. With this resolution to return to one's normal activity, give up the old and get a new pair of lenses once for all, normal behavior begins; but constantly the thought of the lost article, the suggestion that it might be here or there, or some new hypothesis, starts the mind off again on the hunt and interference of association persists. The lost object or forgotten name is so tantalizingly near at hand that we hunt feverishly for it and develop a condition of mental disintegration injurious if not destructive to the mental health. Really give up the search and satisfy oneself that probably the lost object will turn up when needed, or convince oneself that the game is not worth the candle, drop back into a normal condition of integration, and the mental serenity again appears.

In case of many people this break up from such a relatively serious loss is matched by one's experience in losing the most trifling thing, and also by the experience of many persons in the mental search in hunting for a forgotten name or the like. With greater and greater strain of attention they strive to remember, but cannot give up the search. Such unnecessary search may border on the pathological. This way madness lies.

was keenly aware of her mother's favoritism, in school she thought her teacher unfairly critical. The child admitted that as a result she was not trying to study. When threatened with demotion to her brother's class the child's distress was acute, her reaction being that if she were put back she would never study again. This insulting experience was avoided by a brief period of tutoring to which Edith responded successfully. After the school transfer when the psychiatrist questioned her about her daydreams, she replied, "I used to do it in that other school because I was so unhappy, but now everything is so much better I don't have to." A month later she had an excellent report card and was promoted at the end of the term. (p. 488.)

After this ten months of treatment she was retested mentally and the Terman score was an I.Q. of 136, 21 points higher than the previous testing showed. Now, eleven years old, in high fifth grade, approximately where she should be for her chronological age, she made improvement in her school subjects, felt sure of her place in the family group, assumed the responsibilities of the oldest child, ignored opportunities to fight with her brother and the need of daydreams at school to identify her teacher with a bad mother at home. The end of the record finds Edith in a rapid advance class where she belongs.

This case illustrates many disintegrating conditions. A girl of superior intelligence, abused, neglected, retarded, with overdeveloped ego and the usual defense mechanisms, jealousy and the like, and with mental conflicts; too young for self-study, yet by the aid of the psychiatrist helped by a certain amount of self-knowledge, but still with much training needed.

taken for a single illustration of lack of emotional control cited by J. Regensburg:²³

The case is that of a girl, Edith, ten years, two months of age. When first seen by the psychologist, she presented a distressing social background. For the first four years of life she was neglected, frightened, and abused by her mother, who was the victim of a tremendous emotional conflict. The abuse was later displaced by a period of indifference on the part of the mother, but finally the latter desired an improvement and came to the psychologist for help. At this time the child had great difficulty in adapting to the presence of a younger brother and sister who unconsciously emphasized her isolation from her mother. On coming to the clinic she was upset, unfit for fifth-grade work, although with an I.Q. of 115, and three years earlier her I.Q. was 128.

Study of the girl's school record gave a history of inability to concentrate as early as her first school year. In addition she had an inferiority complex, felt unwanted, thought she was no good, complained of unfair treatment, was jealous of her younger brother, unable to make friends, attempted compensation apparently by being bossy and demanding her own way; she showed also an overwhelming desire for friends and affection, but was growing seclusive, sat dreaming and sucking her thumb, was afraid of the dark, had been stealing and lying in self-defense, was failing in school work as a result of her mental conflict and inability to attend to anything but her emotions, and was greatly distressed because of her younger brother's school success.

Treatment for Edith consisted mainly in giving her an insight into her feeling toward her brother and sister and her attitude toward the school. At home she

ing reactions of the boy and the words of the father for ten minutes. The boy took a stick out of the dirt. "Don't get your hands dirty, what will mother say?" The boy ran to the edge of the pond. "Do you want to fall in and be drowned?" The boy confused by inhibitions, bit his hand on the edge of the seat and began to cry. "That's what comes from being a naughty boy!" Again, the boy ran toward me. "Look out, the man will get you!" After sitting for a few moments in gloomy depression the boy ran away from his father as fast as he could go in the direction of a group of children and a dog. "Look out for the dog!" cried the father; and thus brought to book the boy returned to his father and took his hand from fear.

This boy did not wait to look and listen, but wanted to play and run. The father not only repressed his activity but did his best to develop the inhibition of fear. This is a representative case. Such was the petty larceny of ten minutes, one can easily imagine the grand larceny of ten years. At that hour, that Sunday morning, thousands of fathers, priding themselves on educating their children, were robbing them in the same way. I am informed that some mothers do the same. On Monday morning some of the same children went to the schools, to be robbed more conscientiously and more courteously there.

This word rob is an ugly one, but it is futile to speak on this subject unless one speaks bluntly; and all of us, even with the best intentions and usually quite unconsciously, are guilty of this crime of depriving children of their legitimate right, the sacred right of the child to his own task and the privilege, as far as possible, of doing it in his own way.

MINOR CAUSES OF DISINTEGRATION

Attention has already been called to the fact that just as healthful development of the physical organism is dependent on a multitude of simple processes, innumerable contractions of muscles, glandular secretions, the subtle processes of digestion, assimilation, and the like, so healthful mental development is conditioned by a multitude of reactions to a vast number of simple conditions in daily life. In like manner the processes of disintegration are conditioned by a multitude of minor distracting processes. To learn what these are one must go into the homes and the schools and study the most trivial matters of everyday life.

Many parents do give a significant task but often do not dare to put responsibility on their children for its performance.

They give a task to their children, then turn about and rob them by interfering with the doing, taking it out of the child's hands and making it their own. This is done in a thousand ways by conscientious guardians of youth who thus may become the child's worst enemies. Let us take a very simple illustration of some of the little things so important for mental health.

Some months ago, as I sat beside a little pond in one of our parks, I observed a representative example of the way parents rob their children. A little boy, perhaps four or five years of age, and his father were like me enjoying the fresh air and sunshine. With the Sunday morning paternal impulse for didactics the father told the boy to look at the ducks and to see this and see that, meanwhile checking his spontaneous activity with inhibiting exhortations. The following were the outstand-

children do their work and take responsibility for it if the father or mother or teacher does it for them? This foolish aid and dominance over children is not confined to working people. Of his father's help and robbery John Stuart Mill²⁸ wrote as follows:

But the children of energetic parents frequently grow up unenergetic, because they lean on their parents, and the parents are energetic for them. The education that my father gave me was in itself much more fitted for training me to *know* than to *do*. Not that he was unaware of my deficiencies; both as a boy and as a youth I was incessantly smarting under his severe admonitions on the subject. There was anything but insensibility or tolerance on his part towards such shortcomings; but, while he saved me from the demoralizing effects of school life, he made no effort to provide me with any sufficient substitute for its practicalizing influences. [p. 146.]

4. The children that are especially strong and capable physically and mentally are likely to react differently. Some children at least are likely to develop what mental hygienists call a complex in regard to the parent who robs them. By a complex is meant a group of mental associations of emotional character. If this does not lead to actual hatred, it may create such antagonism that the children can never be comfortable in the presence of the parent, can never think about the parent normally. Always the child has a feeling of resentment or fear. The result is apt to be that the boy or girl who has this unfortunate training, avoids the parent, keeps out of the home; and in extreme cases leaves home as soon as opportunity comes.

Miss Van Waters has pointed out how common this antagonistic attitude is in the home, and how many children not only leave home for various causes, but, when

Responses of the Child

That is by no means the whole story. The boy and the girl have feelings, emotions. How do they feel about it? What is the effect of being blocked, thwarted, squelched, in whatever one attempts to do? Observation has given in part the answer. In any case it is disintegrating. Different children react differently according to their individual character, but these responses of the child determine his mental attitudes, those that are healthful on the one hand, those that are injurious on the other.

1. First of all the boy or girl may become indifferent to the words of the parent or teacher—come to discount what they say as mere talk, as something that does not really count. In fact, they are apt to estimate the value of the words from parent or teacher inversely as their number.

This development of indifference is perhaps the least harmful result. But when it becomes so extreme that the child pays no attention to what is said to him, the parent or teacher may as well take a vacation.

2. Again the child may take the parent's interferences seriously, and as he grows older a lot of inhibitions may develop. He can never act in a straightforward manner. He can not focus attention on essentials. His mind is likely to become confused, disintegrated, unless when attending some petty detail. Many persons can never escape the pedantries and inhibitions developed in early life.

3. Children may become so dependent on their parents that they become their slaves and can never stand alone and do anything without parental aid. Why should

everyday life of the home and the school are helpful or injurious to the mental health, not merely in a negative way, but positively because by them mental attitudes helpful or injurious are formed.

In normal personality development at least, most forms of disintegration, both the major and the minor, are potentially opportunities for integration at higher levels. Thus they are often temporary, and in many cases indicate merely relative disintegration.

INTEGRATION RELATIVE

The illustrations given in this chapter have already shown that integration, like other things in this world, is apt to be imperfect. Although the essential characteristic of the wholesome personality, it is in practical life of different degrees relative to many conditions—to one's condition of nutrition, one's degree of health, the state of one's nervous system, and other physical conditions, also to the interest in one's task, the stimuli of the immediate situation, the strength of one's emotions, one's training, the period of the individual's life, to what we vaguely call one's mood, to one's social environment, and the like. A few illustrations of this relativity will be enough.

In a familiar story it is reported that in a Scotch parish a sluggish member, with personality integrated at a low level, expostulated with his pastor for losing his temper. Quickly came the reply, "I control more temper in five minutes than you ever did in five years."

Temporary Disintegration

Apparently with superior training extreme temporary disintegration can be mastered and success achieved. This

they happen to come into contact with social workers, the Juvenile Court or the like, express emphatically their feeling by saying perhaps that they "would not go home for the world." A similar antagonism often develops in the school. This not only injures discipline but also it inhibits learning. Often it seems to develop into a permanent antagonism to authority, whether in school or in society.

5. Although involved perhaps in what has already been said, it is well to note separately a class of children in whom the outstanding result of the continued interference, blocking and balking of the child's own initiative, is a chronic conflict of attitudes toward parent or teacher. This class of children are often the finest, but most sensitive. Anxious to please their parents, impelled to do so by affection and a sense of duty, on the other hand, they naturally react against the parents' narrowness and pedantic interference, and feel bound to defend themselves and preserve their own personalities. From lack of development and lack of training, unable to integrate these antagonistic attitudes on a higher level, the result is chronic and disastrous mental conflict.

6. Naturally in many children a sense of inferiority develops. Never allowed to do anything by themselves, never able to satisfy father or mother or teacher, never allowed to take responsibility, naturally enough the feeling that one is deficient develops. With this is apt to go discouragement and more or less of a feeling of fear; a habit of failure develops; and the need of defending one's disintegrated personality becomes imperative. Then the boy or girl is likely to develop excuses, alibis, means of compensation, and the like.

Thus the ten thousand little things that occur in the

to speak, however, he was an example of poise, self-possession, and an unusually eloquent preacher.

Bobby Jones, former champion golf player, furnishes a noteworthy example. Reported to be apparently a model of coolness and poise on the golf course, he says of himself that on the mornings of competition he suffers from nausea. Apparently with extreme concentration on the essentials of the game, he cannot give the attention necessary for coördinated motor activity in accessory details. This renders him unable to button a collar or put on his necktie without difficulty. He recalls in the course of his great game at Columbus he stood in the eighteenth fairway devoutly wishing that his knees would stop knocking together long enough for him to hit the ball. In speaking over the radio, Jones seems to be equally nervous and equally successful.

Temporary Integration at a Lower Level

The function of disintegration, as affording opportunity for readjustment and integration at a higher level, has already been emphasized. Disintegration has also, it should be noted, a minor function in adults, a major one in childhood, of a different kind, which demands attention. Everybody not hopelessly enslaved by convention or devitalized by habituation has experience at many times of a disintegrating tendency that cannot be ignored. Thus, for example, the confirmed conventionalist wearies of social custom and demands freedom. The hard working business man wishes to throw up his responsibilities; the workman, rising for his daily task at a fixed hour each morning, would for once have his sleep out; the slave of the alarm clock wants to throw the disturbing timepiece out of the window; the circus girl, who has

has often been illustrated by public speakers, musicians, and actors.

A notable example was that of the famous temperance orator, John B. Gough, whom a few of us remember as a speaker of pleasing personality, great poise, and effectiveness. He nevertheless seems to have been the victim of a certain sense of inferiority and stage fright, a striking example of temporary disintegration. He once told Congressman Winslow that before each address he always felt, "This is the time when I shall fail"; and Lyman Abbott reported in my presence an incident that occurred years ago when Gough was to speak one evening at Yonkers. Mr. Abbott entertained him; and along about five o'clock Gough told him that he could not speak that evening; he was all broken up, and it was simply impossible. Mr. Abbott did not take this too seriously, but Gough insisted that it was quite out of the question and he could not do it. When the time came, however, Mr. Gough went onto the platform and spoke with his usual calmness, self-possession, and effectiveness.

When a student in college I had the opportunity to observe a less serious but nevertheless interesting example of temporary disintegration in the great preacher, Dr. MacKenzie, at Shepherd Memorial Church in Cambridge. Fortunately I sat with the other students in the transept close by the pulpit and had a chance to observe him each Sunday before he began to speak. During the singing and other preliminary exercises in which he did not take part he was as restless and as fidgety as a nervous school-boy, twisting about, using his handkerchief, adjusting his clothing, or the like, showing a peculiar although minor form of temporary disintegration. The moment he began

Day, maintaining that the abandon of the day and the relief from the strain of continued work enabled pious men to serve God the better by means of the relaxation.

Egocentric Integration

Integration seems to be conditioned also by the individual's stage of development. The first stage of childhood extending up to the age of six or seven, as we have noted and as Piaget's studies have shown, is an egocentric period. The personality in this early period is naturally integrated about the ego as a focus; and although normally after the age of six or seven an integration about the individual's task is gradually built up, in many persons arrest of development occurs and survivals appear even in adult life.

Those who like to distinguish types can easily classify adults into those, on the one hand, whose personality is integrated about the ego, and, on the other hand, those whose personality is integrated about some great task, with the usual mixed type. Sooner or later adults gradually fall into one or the other of these classes, little by little giving up their egoism and becoming absorbed in their tasks, individual and social, or becoming more and more selfish, until even the work interest itself may be subordinated to the ego. From the point of view of mental health, those in whom the focus of integration is the self are most unfortunate. At all times apparently such individuals are liable to survivals of unwholesome childish attitudes.

People of this class often make a strong defense against disintegrating conditions. This is represented at its highest perhaps by the attitude of the poet, that welcomes "each rebuff that turns earth's smoothness rough," and

performed her trapeze stunt a hundred times, may have an imperative impulse to let go; the model teacher or judge for once would play the fool; and even the saint may feel the need of a holiday.

All this demand for letting go, for giving up to disintegrating tendencies, and the like, appears especially in children and adolescents. The good child cannot always be well behaved, the model pupil, for once, has an imperative impulse to show how naughty he can be, and the adolescent may wish to run amuck against all conventional behavior. Every one needs at times to drop back to a lower level of attention.

All this, of course, merely shows the importance of recreation. Children need their opportunity for play quite as much as they need work. In the schools, recess out-of-doors with the old-time freedom, meets a special need of childhood; and holidays with a minimum of care and supervision are as essential for professional men and women as they are for children. These disintegrating tendencies, when properly met by provision for recreation, give opportunity for integration at a lower level, sometimes at a higher level. The ability to drop back into lower levels of attention and to lower forms of activity is an asset of first importance for the mental health. This is precisely what is done many times a day by men and women who have been trained to relax attention when it is not needed; and this dropping back to a lower level of integration is a condition of efficiency in the doing of the day's work.

It is interesting to note that this need was recognized hundreds of years ago by the priests and churchmen in their appreciation of the value of recreation. Leuba tells us that they protested against the abolition of All Fools'

ever, from the point of view of mental hygiene should be emphasized. The similarity between the child and the aged person has apparently always been recognized. Old age, unless the personality of the individual, like that of Edison, is integrated by an absorbing task, is apt to be, like the period of early childhood, an egocentric period. And the aged person, like the child, responds quickly and often unduly to emotional stimuli. Little things are proverbially strong stimuli. The grasshopper becomes a burden. Like the child too, the aged have a relatively small store of energy, can give attention to one thing for only a short period, lack motor coördination, and often with failing senses, are subject to many slips and accidents; but on the other hand, lack the click, click, click of continued success which the normal child achieves.

Success, however, in the psychological sense of matching a purpose with fulfillment, is always possible; and hence the value of simple occupations and the opportunity to perform as much as possible all the simpler tasks of dressing and the like. Hence the value, too, of games where opportunity for successful doing is afforded. Women, apparently, are better than men in devising such means for self-activity. Hundreds of occupations, of which knitting is the best known, are examples. Men are less fertile in such things, but probably need opportunity for coördinated activity even more than women.

The common belief that the aged need less sleep than younger people is perhaps a fallacy, because those reported to sleep little apparently take frequent periods of rest in their work; and, like President Harper, many take short periods of sleep during the day time. Like the child, the aged need long periods of either rest or sleep.

in Henley's famous defiance of fate, *Invictus*, "I am the captain of my soul." This, however, is egoistic; it represents an heroic fight against morbid conditions rather than health. Many egoists try to be martyrs. In any case mental hygiene shows a more excellent way. The individual whose personality is integrated by his own task, sees no rebuff, or if he does, is too much engrossed by his work to give heed to such things. To him few slights are worth attention.

The Contribution of Mental Hygiene

Thus those persons in whom the focus of attention is a significant task have at all times an anchor of safety for the mental health. The zest of interest in purposive activity, the steadying influence of responsibility, the stimulus of successful accomplishment; all these give such a glow of healthful interest that in a measure it transfers and gives one a sympathy for all others who are busy in the world's work. Thus the task, instead of the self, as the focus of the integrated personality, is the contribution of mental hygiene.

The Period of Disintegration

In an earlier chapter (Chapter VI), reference was made to the evidence that the personality of the child is integrated, although at a low level, from the first. "The blooming, huzzing confusion," described by James comes, not in childhood, but rather in second childhood. The period of old age is largely a period of disintegration.

Hygiene of the Aged

Since G. Stanley Hall wrote his famous book on *Senescence*,¹² little has been added. A few things, how-

monkeys showing the retention of simple habits after extended destruction of brain tissue.

Such results are profoundly suggestive in relation to hygiene. Persons suffering from personality disorders, whether due to aphasia or other cerebral lesions, or from the general results of disease and old age, in the light of these newer investigations would obviously be helped by a mental regimen, like that just mentioned, prescribing especially three things: first, as to all hygiene of personality, the persistent performance of possible coördinated activity, physical and mental; second, the doing as much as possible of simple tasks, and the elimination of very complex activities; third, in the performance of more complex activities, the alternation of relatively short periods of work with relatively long periods of rest.

It is interesting to note that this suggested regimen for the aged is similar to the hygienic requirements for young children, where the emphasis is now placed upon the doing of tasks, the simple rather than the complex, and alternation of relatively short periods of work with ample periods of rest.

The mental hygiene for the aged may be summed up in a few words—work, coördinated activity, physical exercise, rest, success, reliance upon the integrating tendency that persists even in old age and self-respect.

Thus, as we have seen, the conditions that disintegrate the human personality are many, ranging from the serious ones, due to violent emotional experiences, to the petty distractions of the child in the home or on the playground. All emotional experiences are in greater or less degree distracting. Of the more serious of these, fear may be taken for illustration, and to this emotion the next chapter will be devoted.

A few things should be avoided: on the physical side, especially hearty meals at night and all exercises of endurance; and on the mental side, the attempt to do things one cannot do without continued mistakes, especially hunting for lost objects and likewise strenuous search for forgotten names and facts.

The one thing especially to be emphasized is continued coördinated activity. To make this possible simple tasks should be chosen and those that are easy on account of habitual performance. Difficult and complex tasks, which make accident inevitable, may wisely be avoided.

If the criticism be made that this cuts down the activities of the aged unnecessarily, on the contrary, it gives opportunity for more worth while activity and more successful performance. Thus in ancient times and in some countries to-day the rule still prevails: young men for action, old men for counsel. Along the line of one's habitual life work and in many of the great questions of bealthful and happy living, the experience of the aged enables them to make wise decisions and to give prudent counsel. Thus many higher activities are possible for the aged because of skill and experience.

Regimen for Children and the Aged

The studies of Lashley (see Bibliography, Chapter I) have thrown much light on the effect of brain lesions on the retention of habits. A complex maze habit he found is seriously disturbed when 15 per cent of the brain tissue is destroyed. A simple maze habit, however, remains unaffected when 50 per cent of the tissue is destroyed. The experiments that gave these results were made upon rats, hut similar results have been found in experiments on

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diminish what has been called the mental metabolism.

11. The emotional reaction of children to these disintegrating conditions shows a wide range of individual variation.

12. A certain amount of disintegration inevitably occurs, but a normal personality controls this and has a relative integration.

13. Disintegration gives opportunity for integration at a higher level.

14. Integration at a lower level is sometimes healthful as recreation.

15. The great contribution of mental hygiene is emphasis on the task of an individual in place of the ego as the focus of integration.

16. Some would divide distractions into the evitable and the inevitable, the former referring to disintegrations due to conditions that can be removed, the latter to conditions that cannot be removed. Adopting this classification, the practical rule of hygiene is brief: the conditions of evitable distractions should be removed, the conditions of inevitable distractions should be the occasion of compensation and integration at higher levels.

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SUMMARY

1. Among major conditions disintegrating to human personality chosen for illustration are: fatigue, disease, pain, and the mental attitude of haste.

2. Fatigue, especially in young children, is a disintegrating condition of serious importance. The recognition of this solves many problems of discipline and health.

3. Disease is a universal condition of disintegration, but by proper regimen, physical and mental, may be in large degree compensated.

4. Pain as a condition of disintegration presents a somewhat unique problem since it is normally functioned by a lower center in the brain, the thalamus, under control of the cortex.

5. Hysterical pain may be cured, and genuine pain diminished, by bringing them under cortical control.

6. Haste is usually a disintegrating attitude.

7. In school work an artificial rate of speed and an unnatural rhythm of work are disintegrating. Such artificial conditions are likely to be developed for some children in many methods of school work and especially in the speed exercises.

8. Speed exercises are liable to be especially bad for children because the association reaction time of the child is much longer than that of the adult.

9. Both in the home and the school many minor conditions are likely to be disintegrating, notably the different ways in which children are robbed of their tasks or thwarted and interfered with in the performance of them.

10. Such everyday methods of interfering with the work of children in innumerable trifling matters seriously

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CHAPTER IX

FEAR AND THE PERSONALITY

A FEW years ago an educator from Japan called upon me, and I learned that he left Tokyo just after the great earthquake. He gave me a vivid account of the fearful situation when so many lost their lives and a fire burned so much of the University and the city of Tokyo. Everybody, he told me, was afraid. The quaking of the earth came every few minutes and continued, if I remember rightly, for some twenty-four hours or more. Any one who has had experience with even a slight tremor of the earth can well imagine how fearful the situation must have been, not knowing from moment to moment what would happen next, and with the lurid glare of the fire doing its consuming work in the city. The Japanese men with their usual stoicism gave less expression to their feelings than the women, but every one was afraid. As regards himself, he told me that after he came to San Francisco for a week or two he was liable to waken in the night with a shock of fear.

If at the present moment a loud noise like that of some of the explosions that occurred during the War were made near us, this would probably, for the time being at least, make every one afraid. Or if the earth should begin to tremble, as in the case of an earthquake, similar fear would occur probably in most, at least if the quaking were really violent, making the sides of the building sway to and fro, as in the case of the Japanese earthquake.

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if a total dissolution of nature was taking place. The roaring of the sea and wind—fiery meteors flying about in the air—the prodigious glare of almost continuous lightning—the crash of the falling houses—and the ear-piercing shrieks of the distressed, were sufficient to strike astonishment into angels.

Fear and Disintegration

Fear is the extreme form of disintegration. This has been well illustrated by Howard.¹³ As he points out, the hunter sees a grizzly bear, his mental processes are integrated, and from past training he knows what to do and does it. The untrained person, on the other hand, is in a typical condition of fear. He does not know what to do; and on the other hand, he thinks of too many things to do. "For," says Howard, "upon sight of the bear, he tends simultaneously to yell, to climb a tree, to run away, to throw a stone, to grasp a club, and what not. All of these impulses seek motor expression and get jammed in the process, and the result is a state of discoordination. Accompanying this disruptive condition we have those strange visceral and vegetative phenomena commonly recognized as characteristic of the emotional condition." (p. 143.)

Howard advances the thesis that the emotional state in its true form is a state of "disruption." Introspection of genuine emotion will show, Howard thinks, that in such cases

experience is without focus or margin, a confused and scattered state of consciousness. The affective tones which introspectionists describe—or try to describe—are probably present in all of our experiences. But in the emotional state they are confused and dissipated, and the affective tone of the emotional state—if it can be called a tone—is one of blankness and loss; a condition in which the thousand colors of feeling lose

Some perhaps would rush out of the room, some would cry out and give strong expression to their feeling, some would grow pale. The manifestations of fear would differ with different people, but all probably would be afraid. All children, as we have already noted, are afraid of loud noises, removal of support, and the like. Such a cause of fear we call a natural cause of fear, or a biologically adequate stimulus to fear.

This story illustrates the natural fears common to everybody. They are caused by violent change. No wonder the official who visited me and all others were struck with terror. If the Japanese, proverbially brave and self-controlled, were thus smitten with fear, everybody probably would have a similar feeling with the same experience.

Violent Change

Examples of fear from such violent change of stimulation are rare under modern civilized conditions. Occasionally, however, in unusual storms, earthquakes, and catastrophes in great cities, such violent change of stimulation occurs that examples of primitive fear are furnished. When such situations do occur, the fear is liable to be extreme. An experience of one of the storms that not infrequently occur in Central America was recorded by one of the greatest men of the past, a record written when he was a boy of fifteen. I refer to a report of the hurricane that occurred in the West Indies in the summer of 1772 written by Alexander Hamilton,¹² who was in the thick of the storm. Of the fear caused by the desolation and ruin everywhere he wrote in part as follows:

Good God! what horror and destruction—it's impossible for me to describe—or you to form any idea of it. It seemed as

and the occasions for developing them manifold. Thus we find that both children and adults often show fear in the most ridiculous ways. A child may become afraid of a color, of a piece of cloth, of an animal or moving object of any kind, of anything in fact even most grotesquely connected with a primary cause of fear. As everybody knows, in adults also the artificial sources of fear may be most ridiculous, and imaginary causes of fear may become even worse than real causes.

To put this more concretely, some of the common associated fears found among adults are specially the fears in regard to the men and women about them, their companions, and the imaginary conditions of social, business, or political life. Thus not only do many men have the proverbial fear of the number thirteen, of beginning a task on Friday, of spilling salt between friends, of walking on a grave, and perhaps a score of other reputed bad omens, but they become afraid of anything that is contrary to custom, any occasion or behavior that is unconventional.

Among the more serious fears that beset educated and highly trained individuals as well as the ignorant, are fear of disease in its manifold forms, fear that it may attack oneself or one's friends, fear of accident in the hundred situations in which it threatens one to-day, and in some persons even fear of physical examination, physicians, and hospitals.

Fear in Childhood

Of the vast number of disintegrating factors that tend to break down the child's personality, fear may become the worst. I say become because the child at birth probably is without fear, except as just noted, fear of

all definiteness and are mixed indiscriminately in the star-dust of general psychical confusion. [p. 146.]

THE GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY OF FEAR

As generally believed, an individual's personality is especially determined or conditioned by his emotions. Although this could be illustrated by any of the primitive emotions, the best illustration perhaps for mental hygiene is fear. Of the significant facts in regard to fear and its effect upon the personality, a few may be mentioned somewhat in detail.*

The natural cause of fear in children is some violent change; a loud noise, the removal of one's support, or a violent change like that caused by the earthquake, or by gravely serious disease like *angina pectoris*.

Besides such fears from great change in natural conditions, it comes to pass that things that become associated with the loud noise, or whatever it may be, also become causes of fear. Although this in simple form is the psychological genesis of fear, it gives little idea of the extent and complexity of fear-inspiring conditions in later years. The results may include for the adolescent and the adult not only any kind of absurd and grotesque conditioned fears, but also the fear of certain persons and classes of persons, social as well as physical situations, associated complexes, symbols, and the like.

Conditioned Fears

Although, as we have seen, the occasions that produce the natural causes of fear are few in our modern civilized society, on the other hand the associated fears are many

* For an account of concrete examples of fear in relation to mental hygiene, see *The Normal Mind*, Chap. xiv.

player who accidentally drops the ace of spades may live in dread for a year.

Besides the acute fears, quite as serious to the health of the individual may be the sense of insecurity, sense of anxiety and inadequacy that an individual may acquire. Williams²³ deems this sense of insecurity universal at adolescence. However this may be, at least plenty of survivals occur in mature life in regard to the general situations of an individual's life and hundreds of concrete situations.

Williams²³ says that the psychiatrist and psychologist, in their observation of the driving forces in the lives of human beings of all kinds, find that whoever the person may be and whatever one's position or condition of wealth, power or position, humble or exalted, just two things are really what the individual strives for—love in the widest sense and a feeling of security.

It is out of the need for these two things that problems grow. All our lives we are given to a search for these things. We had them once—each of us. There was a time when each of us had love in that large and *satisfying sense*, and when we were secure. We lost *them*. It was necessary that in the course of events we should lose them—but this does not help us—and the rest of our lives, with all their manifold and complex activities, is an attempt to find again these things, and to conquer the fear and anxiety that had grown out of that loss, and the feelings of guilt and inferiority that are also a part of that loss. [p. 65.]

FEAR-PRODUCING CONDITIONS

Apart from certain conditions of which I wish to speak presently, whether we are afraid or not is largely a matter of health or disease, of the secretion of certain glands, of food, digestion, sleep, and the like. Here, as elsewhere, our feelings have little to do with reality, and in

the few biologically adequate stimuli to this emotion, as we call them in psychology. But owing to unfortunate conditions of early life associated fears are often developed in great numbers, so that probably every child that has reached the age of three years has a few, perhaps many, conditioned or associated fears. And when the child enters the kindergarten or the door of the schoolhouse, he is likely to be the victim of a number of fears developed during the long and important years of preschool life; and, during the period of school life, others are likely to be developed. Most adults probably can recall the tragic results of some shock of fear in childhood.

Since associated fears are just as real as others, it naturally comes to pass that many children develop the most absurd and grotesque fears of most innocent things that seem nonsensical to ordinary persons. These often persist in adult life. Thus General Porter¹⁸ tells of a cavalry officer who was so afraid of cattle that if he saw a herd of cows he put a fence between them and himself as quickly as possible. A herd of horned cattle, as Porter said, frightened this man as much as a cavalry charge elated him.

These conditioned fears are an individual matter depending on individual experience. Thus the objects feared differ with different people in amazing variety, but everybody seems to be afraid of something. My neighbor's fears may seem absurd to me, my own fears are liable to appear ridiculous to my neighbor. To the superstitious every calling and every occupation are likely to have occasions for fear. The sight of a black cat casts a gloom over the boisterous hilarity of a group of sailors; and the gambler or the most innocent card

often feared. Few people to-day fear to ride on a railway train. Many, however, fear to ride in an airplane, even if the safety of the airplane is relatively assured. For many persons the most serious occasion for fear is the unknown future in their own lives, and for some, especially the future beyond; in the immortal words of Shakespeare, "the fear of something after death, the undiscovered country from whose hourne no traveler returns."

To-day it is possible to get knowledge in regard to the prevention of most dangers, to attend clinics that give knowledge of children, to study books that describe most of the dangers to life and health. When we lack knowledge the sense of insecurity and fear comes. Even in the great problems of life, when we do not know our duty we are apt to play the coward. And, just as there is no way around duty but by doing it, and thus when we neglect plain duty conscience makes cowards of us all; so when we do not know reality and cannot find out what we should do, lack of knowledge makes cowards of us all.

2. *Disease*

Closely related with the fear of the unknown is the fear of disease. For a single illustration take the various heart diseases, cardiac disorders. Many persons, especially those who eat unwisely and have indigestion, are afraid of heart trouble. Of the vast number of fears of this kind, most are probably unnecessary and unreasonable. Of the fears caused by disease itself, the most outstanding probably is that from real *angina pectoris*. It disintegrates the personality and destroys all courage.

Braun * describes a typical experience, in substance as

a broad way it doesn't matter very much whether we are afraid or not.

When it is said that everybody apparently is afraid of something, this may seem an extravagant statement; but if one reflects he is likely to find in himself either acute fear or persistent anxiety in regard to something; and this in connection with all one's occupations—fear in regard to disease and the common perils to life and health, in the vicissitudes of daily work, fear by the workman in regard to his job, fear by the mother in regard to the dangers to her children and the possible domestic tragedies of life, fear by the physician or teacher in regard to professional blunders, by the man of business in regard to financial disaster; and the ten thousand obstacles to success, fear by the member of the social group in regard to group or professional honor, and even fear by all active men, in whatever occupation, of failure. A few of the more common and general conditions of fear may be noted.

1. *The Unknown*

An apparently universal cause of fear is the unknown. This is common among both primitive and civilized people. The spread of scientific knowledge has enormously reduced the objects of fear; and yet every one is sure sooner or later to meet unknown conditions of possible danger, and likely to have a dread of them. A common form of this is the fear of the new. The reason people fear the new is likely to be because it is unknown. A strange noise may be more terrible than a loud noise; and a new situation, a new disease, a new sensation, a new pain, a new experience of almost any kind may be the cause of fear. Inventions, new machines, or the like are

3. *The Danger of Loss*

A common fear is that of the loss of property by blunder, by theft, or fire, or other accident. Serious as disease may be, special study indicates, I understand, that many persons are more upset by the news of loss of their money than by learning that they have a serious disease. To a multitude of persons the loss most seriously disturbing to the mental health is the loss of one's job. This is by no means merely a material loss or even merely loss of the means of supporting one's family; for the doing of one's task is the condition of personal honor and self-respect, and the stimulus of success in the daily performance of one's work is the support needed for normal living. Hence few fears perhaps are more common and more disturbing among active workers than the fear of losing one's opportunity for work.

4. *Blame*

One occasion for fear should be especially noted. It seems well-nigh universal among intelligent children and adults like, namely, the fear of blame. Every intelligent child apparently at an early age acquires the habit of blaming somebody or something when things go wrong, and many children acquire a fear of being blamed. Some become hypersensitive. This is seriously injurious to the child's health. It often persists throughout childhood and youth and with not a few survives in later life.

5. *Noise*

Since a loud noise is one of the biologically adequate stimuli to fear, it is not strange that even slight noises are disintegrating, and in case of many people a condition

follows: There has been developed from a cheerful, care-free, untroubled man, an anxious, depressed, careworn, small-minded human child, who has been stricken with fright in his limbs, so to speak. The personality is revolutionized; it is not only fear of recurrence of the attack that dominates the patient, but a quite indefinite feeling of insecurity and helplessness and an unreasonable weakness, which speaks from his very mien and his words and actions. It continues a long time until he again finds himself; but during the phase of the transformation he becomes quite a different person. A man who before to a certain degree was light-hearted and optimistic, becomes downhearted and hypochondriacal. . . . A man who has looked many dangers in the eye has become timid and whining. The most harmless sentimentality can move him to tears. Before, he had made the most fearless mountain tours, now for no price would he be left alone for a moment. All inspiration and initiative have been lost, and only gradually do self-confidence and courage return again. (p. 10.)

Among physicians it is largely recognized to-day that the symptoms of heart disease usually complained of do not come from cardiac disturbances. In regard to all forms of disease it is well to recall the lesson taught by the Dervish, in extravagant Oriental manner to be sure, but largely true. He met the Cholera to whom he said, "Where are you going?" The Cholera replied, "I'm going to Bagdad, to kill twenty thousand."

Some time afterward the same Dervish met the Cholera returning, and said, "You vagabond! You killed ninety thousand." "No! No!" said the Cholera, "I killed twenty thousand; fear killed the rest."

life, and maintained that in many automobile accidents among pedestrians the individual has had a chronic fear of accident and been perhaps under constant strain from the noise of automobile traffic and care in dodging vehicles. Observation of such individuals when sent to the hospital, he says, often reveals that they have been under this strain for months. Especially in those individuals referred to above as especially susceptible to noise stimuli is this strain likely to be injurious. Nervous irritability, accidents, divorces, and insanity are among the results charged to noise by the psychiatrists.

Children and Noise.—Here is one of the many cases where those who desire all the significant facts must consider the difference between children and adults. However injurious noise becomes for the adult, and however injurious in its effect upon development the noise of the city may be in case of children, it should be remembered that young children delight in noise, and one hygienic problem is that of protecting the mothers and others without unduly repressing the children. Children delight in slamming doors, blowing horns, ringing bells, and exploding fire crackers, largely because of the pleasure that comes from the success in this simple form of purposive activity. In most normal people the dulling effect of repetition of an emotion, even in the case of fear, reduces the fear. The serious dangers of modern life, dangers from infectious and other diseases, from accidents in all kinds of industry, from all forms of travel, from inattentive, careless and intoxicated drivers of all kinds of vehicles, have been met so often by most individuals that acute fear is dulled, even when the danger is duly recognized. This dulling of emotion by repetition is the one great protection against fear. In children the

of incipient fear. As just noted, the most serious dangers to health apparently come from stimuli, physical or mental, to subacute fear or anxiety. Laird ¹⁵ of Colgate University reports an investigation of the effect of continued noise upon white rats. For more than a year at that university the effects of city noise, as reproduced by electricity, were used as stimuli to two groups of white rats, one kept in conditions of relative quiet and another subjected to the noise stimuli. The results indicate the effect on the nervous system.

The rats kept in quiet conditions ate two or three per cent more food than the stimulated group and they grew ten per cent more rapidly. Laird concludes that noise produces a fear reaction, and fear affects the digestion and increases blood pressure.

The conditions that intensify the noise stimuli are many and varied. Laird estimates that even changes in clothing to short skirts and the loss of sound absorption material due to this and similar conditions are sufficient to be significant, and he cites a London music hall whose acoustic properties were so reduced by changes in clothing that many square feet of sound absorption material had to be installed to compensate for the loss. Modern noise-producing stimuli so affect the nervous system, he concludes, that man needs more sleep, perhaps an additional hour each day, to compensate for the strain of noise stimuli when sleeping and waking.

Evidence from Psychiatry.—This evidence of noise as a causal condition of incipient fear and injury to appetite and digestion found in Laird's experiment is corroborated by the observation of psychiatrists on human beings. At the recent International Congress on Mental Hygiene Briggs ⁶ voiced the indictment against noise in our modern

of fingers and the like, however annoying when made by others, we are quite immune when they are the result of our own bad manners.

Children and Earthquakes.—Simson²² has studied in twenty children in sanitariums for tuberculosis the effect of an earthquake. A wide range of reactions occurred, some children fainted, in all a marked vasomotor insufficiency was observed. The children seemed more frightened by an unusual concomitant occurrence than by the earthquake itself. One child was greatly frightened because his shoe began to move. He thought a lizard had crawled into it. The reactions of children differ from that of adults because of their lack of experience. Darwin has been quoted as noting that a severe earthquake disturbs our oldest and strongest associations. Psychologists are inclined to explain psychological peculiarities of a people, like the Japanese for example, by the influence of long continued earthquakes.

A FOCUS OF FEAR

Besides disease, fatigue, and failure as causes of fear, one of the most serious aspects of it is what may be called a permanent focus of fear, or, as many psychiatrists would say, a fear complex. This may be conditioned by any one of a great variety of causes. Two of these may be taken for illustration; first, some physical disease or defect; second, some person who by unfortunate experience becomes a permanent condition of fear.

Individuals as Foci of Fear

Chesterton was right when he referred to man himself as one of the most serious causes of fear. By unfortunate experience any person may become the nucleus of

problem is to develop this immunity by facing fear-inspiring situations, without retaining those survivals of childish attitudes that make miserable the lives of many persons.

Apparently individuals differ greatly in susceptibility to noise stimuli; and the subacute fear produced in all of us by the noise stimuli of city life becomes in some persons distinctly acute. Carlyle and several distinguished artists and writers have been outstanding examples. In such persons perhaps survival of childish attitudes explains the acute sensibility to noise and to the incipient fear when noise occurs. The memories of childish emotion, whether conscious or unconscious, play a great rôle. Schilder¹⁹ of Vienna maintains that every emotion involves the reactivating of the fitting and adequate infantile attitudes, and thus any present emotion like fear summarizes all the similar emotional experiences of the individual's whole lifetime.

As far as the children themselves are concerned, they also are likely to become habituated to noise and largely immune, not merely by means of the dulling of emotion from repetition, but from the conditioned reflexes formed in case of many children, where they have in early life had actual pleasure in connection with snowstorms, thunder showers, the howling of the wind and rain, and the like. The desirability of letting this immunity to noise be developed in a natural way should be remembered. Apparently the key, however, to the pleasure of children in noise is the delight that comes from their success in making it themselves, a delight that is so strong that it persists apparently in all of us; for it is a well-known fact that to many of the most disagreeable noises, that of scratching from pens and pencils, the drumming

do in rural and city schools alike, soon may develop a fear of failure that is a handicap to work and to health. The working man, with waning strength from disease or age, fears the possibility of incapacity, and even the most successful business or professional man may be haunted by the fear of failure. The saint may tremble from fear of possible transgression of moral or religious duty; and when the hero has vanquished other fears, he may still retain a dread lest he may fail to do what he ought to do.

Even people leading the most humdrum lives are subject to fear. This is expressed in the doggerel lines:

They eat and sleep and plod,
And go to church on Sunday.
Some are afraid of God,
And more of Mrs. Grundy.

Not merely convention, however, is the cause of minor fears, but *some people are in a chronic condition of incipient fear* because of taboos, fetishes of every kind, mannerisms, pet habits, and the like, which become imperative to such an extent that any infringement of their control becomes the occasion of a subtle form of fear.

In many persons the fear experience is aggravated by everything whatever that calls to mind the object of fear and by the fact that child or adult in such cases is always thinking about the individual feared, always recalling blame, injustice, interference, or injury caused by the person feared, always reflecting upon this, reviving the fear, or perhaps indulging in resentment, self-pity or the like, but in any case aggravating the fear complex by a thousand anticipations of injustice or injury, and imagining and dreading all kinds of possible situations in the future.

a fear complex to a child or adult. Most commonly the fear-inspiring individuals are those intimately associated with a child,—parent, brother or sister, teacher or playmate, or companion; and the person feared is very likely to be one that is loved or hated. Here the fear may be deep-seated and unconscious.

Physical Defect as a Focus of Fear

For illustration, we may note the chronic fears associated with physical and mental disorders. Those already cited connected with cardiac disorders are outstanding examples. In like manner disorders of digestion, respiration, or sleep, may become such foci of fear. A kaleidoscopic variety of physical sensations, minor aches and pains, paræsthesias, conditioned reflexes, the discomforts from abnormal conditions of temperature, humidity, posture, and the like, all the subtle dysphorias one experiences, may become associated with this fear nucleus and a permanent fear complex be the result. The mental foci of fear, or fear complexes if you prefer, are likely to be still more serious. Well-known examples are fear of knowing the facts in regard to one's own health, and hence fear of a medical examination.

One of the most common fears, often among the best and most intelligent people, is the fear of failure in manifold forms. With the pressing demands of education upon the young, the demands of industry, household economy and social life to-day, the difficulties of success are so great and the occurrence of failure so common it is not strange that this is a common, if not universal, source of fear. The child at school who finds its tasks too difficult, or the conditions of work unsuitable, and as a result fails day after day and week after week, as thousands

home or the school is a serious danger to the mental health. Of all fatiguing, nerve-racking, and disintegrating experiences in attempting a task, one of the worst is the recurrent thought that one is not equal to it, that failure is likely to occur, and that there is no remedy. This most serious condition of fear of one's task occurs also in adults, even sometimes in those who have had many successes. One who has accumulated many cares and assumed many duties may acquire such a fear of failure that one's personal responsibility may become a focus of fear. This task complex as a focus of fear finds many illustrations in the so-called New England conscience, but it is by no means confined to any part of the country. Such cases bring us to the problem of some subtly dangerous conditions of fear.

Fear of Action

Although emotion may be called a state of disintegration or a condition that involves disintegration, on the other hand, as we have seen, feeling and emotion in large degree furnish the stimulus to thought and action. Of the innate emotions of love, fear, and anger, the most seriously disintegrating seems to be fear. Both love and anger are in large degree stimuli to action. Fear often is also, but a most serious and subtle effect of fear lies in the fact that it often strikes at the very heart of action itself.

This effect is shown in large letters in pathological conditions. The great French psychologist, Janet,¹⁴ has illustrated this effect in the abnormal conditions where the fear becomes fear of action. He has also pointed out that in the conditions of melancholia, and the like, we find

The victims of such fear conditions apparently are legion. All the reports of social workers, all the records of the juvenile courts, all special students of children can give a multitude of examples. John Stuart Mill afraid of his father, Ruskin afraid of both his father and mother, and the young Kaiser Wilhelm afraid of himself and his withered arm are merely illustrious examples of what is familiar to every psychiatrist.

Fear of One's Task

Among school children and not infrequently in the home a permanent nucleus of fear is produced by a task too difficult or by failure. Many children fear a strange and difficult task, even before they have attempted it; and as soon as failure occurs the mere thought of the task, whenever it arises, is a condition of fear. The more serious the results of failure the greater the stimulus to fear. If one receives a low mark in school or hears the regret of parents that one's success is not greater, or if especially one receives blame for not doing better work, or even if defect instead of merit is always pointed out, the thought of the task may become a permanent focus of fear; and the very fact of the fear that becomes associated with the task makes the individual nervous, and failure results from the mere thought of the difficulty. Such a fear complex in connection with a daily task is the more serious because the doing of the task which, as we have seen, is normally a preventive and remedy for fear, now becomes itself the cause of it.

The study of fear in connection with school failure would probably involve the study of thousands of cases in the schools of any large city. Thus anything whatever that associates failure and fear with a child's task in the

Let us also remember that those spells of sadness should not be called poetic, and that they must not be cultivated. Sadness is always a sign of weakness and, sometimes, of a habit of living weakly. The investigations of pathological psychology have shown us the evil of sadness, and, at the same time, have evidenced a very important thing: the value of work and of joy. [p. 309.]

CONDITIONS AND EFFECTS OF FEAR

False Remedies

In animals, children, and mature men and women, plenty of false remedies for fear are used. We hide our faces from the source of the fear, we run away from it, camouflage it, dodge it in some way, devise some rite or symbol or superstitious medicine or idol—a mechanism of some sort to help us suppress it, anything whatever, except honestly to face it and to become free from it. Even when its false character is exposed we are apt not to rid ourselves of it. Eliot²⁰ reports:

In his own behavior and in that of others, a tendency to attempt to condemn, or otherwise escape from, any mode of thought or action in which the "mechanism" has been shown up . . . when the clockwork of an icon is exposed, we cease worship, tend to iconoclasm. This is because we previously worshiped, feared the image, and wished now to destroy—not really the image, but our fear of it. It becomes a scapegoat for our fear. "Destroying" a fear by destroying an image, however, is a device of suppression, not of liberation; an "infantile" mode of defense, perhaps, or of vanquishing the father equivalent. It is often observable in cynical first novels. [p. 539.]

Those who live in constant fear of blame or failure seem especially liable to seek false remedies. The result of dependence on such defenses is damaging to character.

in extreme form what occurs in a minor degree in all of us in conditions of sadness and depression.

Since, as we have seen, the great means of developing the wholesome personality is the doing of significant tasks, and both the prophylactic and remedy for fear is normal coördinated activity, one sees at once how subtle and insidious is this condition where fear of action prevails. It is the reversion and inhibition of the fundamental condition of healthful activity.

Of such patients suffering from fear of action Janet¹⁴ gives concrete illustration, and of their attitude he says that they always condemn themselves. In their own action they produce these feelings. "They objectivate in their persuasions a feeling they have in relation to themselves and to their actions." (p. 299.) By some of these patients, again he says: "Acts are considered abominable and sacrilegious from the religious point of view." The same is true from other points of view.

Finally, underneath, the feeling accompanying an act is simply that of doing something dangerous, and, especially, awkward. One patient says: "I obey you, I walk with you, I keep quiet, and yet this is the thing that I should not do; it is clumsy, stupid. Oh, if I only could do once what I should do!" "If I am with a friend I feel in advance that I am going to hurt him in saying one word to him. . . . And always there is the feeling of doing something stupid and foolish, of looking like a ridiculous fool." [pp. 300-301.]

Janet adds:

Doubtless, veritable melancholia is a disease, but sadness in its most simple form is, after all, identical with melancholia and contains the same fear of action. There are families and, one might say, entire populations who are going through periods of discouragement, of sadness, and of recoiling from action.

Yellowlees.²⁴ Although stated in technical language, the main point is clear to any one. In part he writes as follows:

Nervous anxiety may cause dyspepsia, that leads to gastric atony and dilatation, that to visceroptosis, that to intestinal stasis, that to toxic absorption, that to endocrine disorder, that to nervous anxiety, and so round we go. . . . If we have simply started from the original complaint of constipation or dyspepsia we may miss the anxiety entirely, because it may well be concealed or even unconscious, and thus lose our most hopeful line of attack. For it is certain that a patient of that type will continue to have symptoms, though we leave hardly any viscera wherein to have them, so long as the anxiety remains untreated. A disease or a deformity may be structural, and yet have a nervous origin. Duodenal ulcer may well have got a start because of gastric hyperacidity, in which there was very probably a mental factor. Such deformities as narrow chest and lateral curvature of the spine are found in children of a certain mental habit, which expresses itself in a lax and drooping posture. If you can get these timid, sensitive children in time and change their mental attitude—a large order, I grant you—you will save them from actual bony deformity by purely psychological means. [p. 2.]

Fear and Wisdom

On the other hand, in practical affairs there is one and only one kind of fear that is helpful, the fear that comes from knowledge. This is the fear that in a trained man stimulates his endeavor, clarifies his prevision, and tightens his purpose. It may perhaps be compared to that fear of the Lord that we are told is the beginning of wisdom. A concrete illustration is in point.

If anybody in the world knows the danger of landing an airplane in a crowd, it is Lindbergh. The tip of the plane's propeller continues to revolve many seconds after

The pathetic sense of inferiority developed by the unfortunate training of a pedantic and tyrannical father, who was always ready to blame his boy, is vividly illustrated by the subject of Butler's famous book *The Way of All Flesh*.⁸ At the adolescent period Ernest reflects as follows in regard to himself.

He hated papa, and did not like mamma, and this was what none but a bad and ungrateful boy would do after all that had been done for him. Besides, he did not like Sunday; he did not like anything that was really good; his tastes were low and such as he was ashamed of. He liked people best if they sometimes swore a little, so long as it was not at him. As for his Catechism and Bible readings, he had no heart in them. He had never attended to a sermon in his life. . . . Then there was that awful and mysterious word "business." What did it all mean? What was "business"? His papa was a wonderfully good man of business, his mamma had often told him so—but he should never be one. It was bopeless, and very awful, for people were continually telling him that he would have to earn his own living. No doubt, but how—considering how stupid, idle, ignorant, self-indulgent, and physically puny he was? All grown-up people were clever, except servants—and even these were cleverer than ever he should be. Oh why, why, why, could not people be born into the world grown-up persons? [p. 141.]

Effects of Fear

The effects of fear, both physical and mental, are many, varying with different individuals. Noteworthy among these are trembling, paleness, fainting, crying or screaming, lack of muscular coördination, temporary paralysis, sleeplessness, and the like. Fear of every kind seems to be injurious.

The vicious circle by which anxiety affects the physical as well as the mental health has been well described by

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the gas is turned off, at a speed faster than that of a bullet from a pistol. Hence Lindbergh is afraid of a crowd, and his habit in landing is to turn his plane so that the propeller is upfield, in order not to kill any one.

Crowds, however, are difficult to manage. On landing in one of his western trips Lindbergh saw a little girl, four years of age, who had escaped from her parents, with arms raised in welcome rushing toward the propeller whose blades were going so fast she could not see them. By a tremendous effort he leaped from the plane and caught the little girl away when she was within one or two feet of the propeller that would have killed her.

This fear of Lindbergh's is under control; but, however helpful it may be to the individual and to the social group, it is disintegrating to the person who has it, and Lindbergh himself seems to feel the strain of crowds.

REMEDIES FOR FEAR

Some of the conditions and effects of fear have just been given. The aim of mental hygiene, like that of religion, is especially to cast out fear, both in individuals and social groups. Some of the points of similarity between the aims of religion to-day and those of mental hygiene may well be noted. Below some of the things they both emphasize as preventives of fear are listed.

1. *Love*

Most if not all religions have recognized that the emotion of love is a preventive of fear; and this view culminates in the Christian doctrine that perfect love casteth out fear. Hygiene also recognizes that love and fear are antagonistic.

2. *Dependence*

Closely connected with love as a preventive of fear is the sense of dependence, which, as Schleiermacher long ago pointed out, is an essential of the religious consciousness. This is illustrated, not merely in the sense of dependence upon the parent and hence the mother's ability to quiet the fears of her child, but it is illustrated among primitive peoples and among all classes, even the highly educated and highly developed, in their dependence on persons who have unusual knowledge and skill, and especially in the sense of dependence on a higher power of some kind. Whether it be a trust in the soundness and wholesomeness of the universe, in some great power that makes for righteousness, or in some more concrete conception of an all powerful deity, the feeling of dependence is much the same. One or two concrete illustrations may be given. The first just mentioned is familiar to every one, the child's sense of dependence on its parents. The truly religious person's dependence on a higher power seems to be developed from this. In any case this is a protection from fear as long as one completely trusts the source of one's dependence.

The whole history of Christianity is replete with examples of the absence of fear because of this sense of dependence. In everyday life illustrations are found, especially perhaps among nurses and physicians, and in all men of action who fight losing battles for the sake of righteousness. In innumerable cases of this kind the sense of dependence has given men the necessary protection against fear. Everybody seeks such protection.

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Among the great occasions of fear, as we have noted, are disease, accident, sudden misfortune of any kind, and

evil tidings. It is noteworthy that the Hebrew scriptures mention especially these fear-inspiring situations and the protection given by the sense of dependence. Thus to the man who depends upon the Deity the psalmist says: "Tbou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday." (Psalm 91; 5, 6.) And again of the righteous he says: "He shall not be afraid of evil tidings." (Psalm 102; 7.) And the author of Proverbs extols the safety that results from wisdom, and suggests that one who has this will not be afraid of sudden fear. (Proverbs 3: 25.)

Although false beliefs, charms, relics, and the like may be dangerous by giving a false sense of security, nevertheless they have a psychological effect in preventing fear if the individual has complete confidence in them. Mrs. Akeley¹ has given a noteworthy illustration in describing charms and the like used as protection from crocodiles in the torrid regions. One she describes in substance as follows: A boy had just seen his companion devoured by a crocodile, but insisted on swimming back across the river; and although Mr. Akeley denounced the boy's foolhardiness and shook him violently the boy showed no resentment, stood smiling before him, pointed proudly to his fetishes, tiny antelope horns, packed by the witch doctor, and calmly assured him that he was safe from the crocodiles when he wore this medicine. However dangerous the boy's action, the boy's faith was awe-inspiring, and he repeatedly crossed the river where man-eating crocodiles abounded, but showed no fear. (p. 40.) The dependence of the Mohammedan on fate and of many upon a personal God are psychologically higher forms of

the same. And in any case a perfect sense of dependence, like perfect love, casteth out fear.

3. *Knowledge*

Although one of the proverbs of folk thought tells us that those who know nothing fear nothing, it has also been said that perfect knowledge would cast out all fear. Our scientific knowledge to-day, for example, has greatly diminished superstitious fears, and largely removed the fear of disease, or substituted an intelligent fear for ignorance.

A typical illustration may be given. When I was a boy an epidemic of scarlet fever raged in my native town. Many lives were lost. Some people took wise precautions; some depended upon futile methods; many lacked any intelligent fear and exposed themselves recklessly. I myself was one. I did not know enough to be afraid, and paid the penalty for my ignorance by an illness for some two months, and suffered probably some permanent injury from it. Scientific study has now given us knowledge in regard to this disease, a serum that can be used, and shown that by avoiding contact with those who have the disease one is protected.

For another illustration of the way scientific knowledge frees from fear, take malaria. Some forty years ago we were afraid of night air because it was said to cause malaria. Now we know that it is dangerous only because in the night the anopheles mosquito has good opportunity to bite its victims. So with many other diseases, scientific knowledge has cast out fear, or made it rational. Yellow fever also was the terror in Central America and some of our southern states, but when Wood and the heroic physicians under him demonstrated that this disease is

caused by the bite of a stygomia mosquito, infected from a human patient within the first three days of the disease, this fear vanished and physicians could assure people that without mosquitoes there is no yellow fever.

4. *Coordinated Activity*

The great means of preventing fear is purposive action, doing, function of some kind. As long as one can keep attention concentrated and activity coördinated, as long as one is absorbed in doing something worth while, so long one is protected. In the War the soldiers at the front were not afraid, they said, because they did not have time to be afraid. Here again the teachings of mental hygiene and the teachings of religion are not in conflict. The Christian religion puts emphasis on doing rather than mere belief, works as well as faith, and especially service for others. This stands next to prayer in the practical doctrines of the church. *Laborare est orare* was the traditional maxim of the Christian fathers.

5. *Direct Action*

One of the most effective remedies for fear is what may be called "direct action." Do the thing you are afraid to do. Face the man or situation you fear. If you are afraid to speak before others, speak in public as much as you can. If you are afraid to drive an automobile, drive one at every opportunity. If you fear disease or physical defect, get a competent physician and oculist and dentist to make thorough examination and tell you the worst. It will probably be a great relief to you. The writer once gave a lecture on this subject to an audience of nurses. After the address one nurse came up and said, "I am going right out and have two teeth pulled." Such

direct action is a sure cure; but most people are not so ready to take it. Anything but that. For the nervous, the neurotic also, who fears action or even what he himself may think, this is the great remedy. If you fear that you may think of a certain thing, face it and think about it, as Bunyan did when tormented by his insistent thoughts. If you fear you will not sleep, try to keep awake. Such is often the best advice. In any case try to find the facts, face them, and do what seems right and best.

Thus hygiene in regard to fear is simple but largely drastic in character. Young children may well be protected from those violent changes of stimulation that are the *natural causes* of fear. *Still more important is it to protect them from conditioned fears produced by the association of innocent and harmless situations with the biologically adequate causes of fear.*

Since nobody, however, can be altogether protected from fear-producing situations, it becomes important to remedy fear by the natural method of facing the terrifying situation, and reducing fear by repetition of the stimuli. The soundness of this drastic remedy has been recognized in the training of both animals and children. The old method of curing the fear that horses naturally have of locomotives and automobiles by placing them in a pasture beside the railway or the highway, where they cannot escape the noise of the trains, and so deadening their fear by repetition, is a sound method still in use.

Thus if the aviator has an accident and falls to the ground uninjured the trainer provides another opportunity to fly as soon as possible, so that the fear may not be increased by thinking about the matter and recollection and imagination of the fearful situation, but rather may

extreme form, anger. These attitudes, if strong enough, also inhibit fear. This is well known in many cases of anger, and for some individuals the milder attitudes of disgust and indignation are distinctly effective as a remedy for fear. Nothing, however, seems to be quite so good a remedy as actually facing the fear and when possible doing the thing one fears to do.

Of course the practical rules in connection with such experiences of fear are fairly obvious, and many of them have been anticipated by wise mothers in the common-sense training of their children, since they make it a rule, when a child is afraid of a dog or some other animal, to give the child something to do in relation to the object feared, food with which to feed it, a stick to drive it away, or the like; then fear soon disappears.

On the other hand, when there is nothing to do, any one may become afraid. Years ago General Porter observed that the duty of guarding supplies in war time, requiring little active service, might be the hardest for the soldier; and he reported the case of an undoubtedly brave officer, who, after an experience of this kind, declared that if he were ever allotted such a position again he would surely run away.

A Suggestion to Children.—Children need training to meet fearful situations rather than instruction about fear, but with training a little sympathetic talk may be helpful. Parents or teachers who have normally close relations with their children may perhaps say something in substance like the following to them:

Each one of you perhaps is afraid of something, and I take it you do not wish to tell any one about it, but I have studied this matter, so let me tell you three things. You may call them secrets, for many do not know them.

First, other people probably have just as many fears as you do. Second, most of the things we are afraid of would not hurt us anyway. I myself have been afraid of many things that never did me any harm, and I have worried about many things that never happened. Third, let me tell you what to do when you really are afraid. A fear is a fear, and it is unpleasant to have; but it helps if you give attention to something connected with it. Everybody, I may say, is likely to be afraid of a very loud noise. Thunder in a severe shower is perhaps the loudest noise you have ever heard. If you are afraid of thunder and lightning, the next time you are in a thunder shower notice when the flash of lightning comes, then count, and see how many figures you can count before the thunder-clap. If you hear it after you count five or ten the lightning was near. If the thunder does not come until you have counted fifty or sixty the lightning is quite a distance away. Again if you are afraid of some animal, try to learn about the animal. If you are afraid of your teacher, as some children are, try to get better acquainted with her. If your cat or dog or your pet animal shows fear, try to find out what it is afraid of and why. Such action will help. Again, it helps to tell somebody about your fear. Pick out some one of the family or a friend who will not laugh at you and tell all about it. And this fear of being laughed at, by the way, is another fear that when you are a little older you can remove by facing it and telling others to laugh at you all they please.

FEAR AND THE PERSONALITY

Of the primitive emotions, fear has a most potent influence in checking, inhibiting, as well as determining, human action. The ways in which it has its effect are

fairly obvious. One influence of fear in those able to overcome it is significant. Fears, as already noted, may be checked and removed. When the removal of fear occurs, especially when it is eradicated by the direct action of facing it and doing the thing feared, it has an important influence on the personality; and in those whose training has brought about the mastery of many fears, an attitude of meeting difficulty and danger is developed to such an extent that it may in large part determine the career of the individual. Here in fact is the opportunity in the training of children to change dangerous and harmful situations into opportunities for emotional control and general development.

Interest and Fear

Noteworthy studies made by Colin Scott ²⁰ many years ago showed that when children have overcome certain fears the objects of their fear are likely to become objects of special interest. Thus fear may emerge not only as a destroyer, but also as a builder of personality.

Anxiety and the Personality

Perhaps even more important than the more acute and definite fears of children in their influence upon the health of the personality is the effect of the attitude of anxiety and the constant sense of insecurity, that results from speed and the atmosphere of hurry and criticism common in many modern classrooms. The effect of this and similar attitudes day after day on the developing mind of sensitive children at least seems sure to be injurious. It interferes with the wholesome mental metabolism that should continue during every day of life.

A distinguished physician has said that a careless nurse

may do more harm in ten minutes to a child in the early years of life than a psychiatrist can remedy in ten years. In like manner at the later period of school life more harm may be done by a thoughtless teacher by unjustly blaming a pupil than the whole of school life thereafter can remedy. Since naturally the teacher's attention centers upon the scholastic work, what Crichton Miller⁹ at the meeting of the British Association in 1922 said, represents an experience not uncommon:

The teacher may pride himself on getting Smith Minor through an examination to-day; twenty or thirty years later Mr. Smith, suffering from nervous breakdown and insomnia, will tell his consultant: "Yes, the sinister individual who comes to me in my nightmares is very like a certain master I had at school, who was a regular slave-driver. I used to wake up thinking of my work and of him, and I think it was then that fear first entered my life." [p. 47.]

The Objective Attitude and Fear

Mental hygiene is concerned with prevention rather than cure, but in cases of this kind the cure of a sound mental hygiene is the one thing essential. As already noted, the sovereign remedy for fear is direct action, facing the thing feared, doing the thing one is afraid to do. In many cases, however, this remedy cannot be applied. The girl cannot attempt a continued conflict with the mother she fears, the boy cannot have a row with his father, wise husbands and wives do not habitually quarrel. The remedy actually resorted to is usually change of environment, the boy or girl runs away from home. If the teacher is feared they drop out of school, and husbands and wives who fear each other become divorced. Or again, as a milder and sometimes less successful remedy,

the children in the home or the pupils in the school apply what defense mechanisms they can, and resort to whatever temporary protection is available. Either of these methods serves the child at least as a temporary means of defense against the person feared. To those who can attain it, however, there is a more excellent way.

Here science has made perhaps its greatest contribution to mental hygiene, and in all these cases the aid of scientific mental hygiene is the real and effective remedy. It provides a cure similar in character to the method of direct action. It calls attention to the fact that fear is a subjective experience, usually a defense of a sensitive ego, looks these facts in the face and substitutes for this subjective experience the objective attitude of mind. As soon as this can be acquired the fear vanishes and the higher scientific objective attitude furnishes a perspective in which large realities dwarf the subjective egoistic associations of the fear complex.

Fear is a subjective experience. It cannot be removed by covering it with a mask, it cannot be removed by running away from it. It may be removed, as just stated, by acquiring the objective attitude. In children, of course, one can hardly expect this higher attitude, nevertheless children can, as we have seen, gradually be trained to it, and then take this attitude in their play

If it does not, with this attitude it is often clear that it has little or nothing to do with objective reality. With this objective attitude, as Hrdlicka has recently said, we stand "mentally above all life's perplexities in the sunshine of a Utopia." But this divine release is easily lost through lack of red blood or by disintegrating stimuli.

Although both the individual and the social group always desire permanence, confidence, assurance, and are disturbed by whatever breaks down these mental attitudes, mental hygiene recognizes that we live in a world of change, and something may be said for training children in the early years to adjust to changing conditions. The new schools like the French *Ecoles des Roches* would so train the young that anywhere and always, in whatever circumstances, one may land upon one's feet, with the aim of developing immunity by training to the objective attitude in everything. All such training may go far toward preparing us to live with our fears even if we may not eradicate what has been called man's last enemy.

The Opportunity for Study

As already suggested, the subject of the fears of children, both in the home and in the school, offers rich opportunity for important investigation. Such study is practically important for the teacher in the schoolroom, because only by understanding the fears of children can one give the training needed, utilize the discipline of the schoolroom for the preservation and development of the child's mental health, and avoid the disastrous blunders that frequently occur when a child's fears are not known. The opportunity also for making an important contribution to our knowledge of the child's emotional life and

2. Among the biologically adequate causes of fear the outstanding ones are loud noises, sudden removal of one's support, certain forms of disease, in case of some individuals the sight of one's own blood, the sudden approach of an object, and any violent change of stimulation.

3. Conditioned fears are indefinite in number and may be anything whatever, however grotesque, that becomes associated with some naturally fear-producing situation.

4. Among the general conditions likely to produce fear are disease, the unknown, danger of loss, blame, an abnormal conscience, and the like.

5. Much has been said of the value of intelligent fear. Its alleged value, however, in arousing precaution is usually stated erroneously. More accurately stated, fear itself is disintegrating, but precaution is helpful. Precaution without the fear would be a protection, but fear without the precaution would never protect anybody.

6. Among the effects of fear are disturbance of circulation, paleness, fainting, paralysis, trembling, indigestion, mental confusion, and sleeplessness.

7. Among the preventives and remedies for fear are coördinated activity, knowledge, direct action, love and a sense of dependence upon some adequate protection.

8. Many persons resort to dangerous remedies. Outstanding among these are the various superstitions, doctrines of bizarre cults, and unscientific cures of all sorts. By such means, it is true, fear is often remedied, but serious danger risked.

9. Among the most serious fear-producing conditions are certain ones that are more complex, especially what may be called a focus of fear, or fear complex. Serious among these are fear of certain individuals, frequently

the child's personality is promising; and in regard to concrete cases at least, every teacher may make an individual contribution here.

Social Protection.—A great part of the economic and social development of life consists in the development of devices and mechanisms for the protection of people against the dangers incident to industrial and social life, and especially the prevention of the fear of these dangers. Thus the various forms of insurance, the protective devices to make the various industrial occupations and business activities safe, the various devices for protection against fire and the like, the financial institutions that give stability to financial conditions; in a word, the whole aim of business and industry is largely to protect individuals from fear and anxiety, quite as much as to protect from actual dangers to life and property. The remedies for fear in the individual and in the social group are much the same; in the first place, frankly facing it by the individual, honest publicity in the social group; and in the second place, purposive action, individual and social.

Thus fear is universal, the one great mental disorder, the one serious inhibition and cause of depression and disintegration. To remove fear and the sense of insecurity in child and adult and in society, is the great aim of civilization, mental hygiene, and religion.

SUMMARY

Of all the factors that tend to disintegrate human personality, none seems to be so bad as fear in its many forms. Among the facts relating to this emotion the following may be taken for illustration:

1. Fear is apparently a universal emotion; all persons, consciously or unconsciously, have fear in some form.

Nervous and Mental Diseases, Vol. 70 (1929), pp. 502-519.

20. SCOTT, C., "Children's Fears as Material for Expression," *Transactions of the Illinois Society for Child Study*, Vol. 3 (1898), pp. 12-17.
21. SIMSON, T., "Psychische und psychotische Reaktionen Erwachsener und Kinder bei Erdbeben," *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, Vol. 118 (1928), pp. 130-145.
22. VALENTINE, C. W., "The Innate Bases of Fear," *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. 37 (1930), pp. 394-420.
23. WILLIAMS, F. E., "Can Youth Be Coerced?" *Mental Hygiene of Normal Childhood* (Buffalo, Mental Hygiene Council, 1927), pp. 59-75.
24. YELLOWLEES, D., "The Psychological Factor in Physical Disease," *Glasgow Medical Journal*, January, 1926, cited in *How to Live*, Vol. 10, No. 6, 1927, p. 2.

motions must be instantly inhibited at certain signals; that certain other actions and behavior must be instantly performed at certain commands or signals. Soon in a thousand details the laws of custom and prudence are instilled. But even here occurs conflict between one's desires and what one observes as real. Thus among the earliest social lessons in the external world is constant training in regard to the protection of the personality by conformity or resistance to these laws; and sooner or later the child finds what is likely to be more serious conflict within his own mind.

From personal experience every one is familiar with mental conflicts. The great dramas and great novels likewise, as well as the literature of psychology and psychiatry, have for thousands of years made people familiar with the frequent tragedy of these conflicts. The major conflicts are those between primitive human passion and the higher demands of morality, the conflict between individual resolutions and the force of surrounding circumstances, between natural impulse and social convention, and in most callings between the individual self and the professional self, between human desires and religious ideals, between the lower self and the higher self.

In the old days St. Paul put this conflict between the individual's lower self and the higher self in striking terms. Translated in the King James version by the old scholars who bluntly called the lower desires sin, the passage was put into forceful English as follows:

For the good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.

Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. [Romans VII: 19-21.]

Quite apart from moral conflict, as we call it, a vast number of intellectual as well as emotional conflicts occur. The tragedy of life is that with the best intentions in the world conflicting evidence often makes distracting appeals.

Major Conflicts.—As just noted, the literature of the world is largely the story of conflict—conflict of individuals, conflict between the individual and the formal social group, and conflict of social groups among themselves. Naturally such conflicts involve mental conflict. Since both childish survivals and social relations are emotional in character, it is not strange that the major mental conflicts are also usually emotional. This is the conflict that palsies the hand and clogs the brain. Often the conflict is between the intellect itself and the emotions. From the cradle up conflicts between the individual and the environment, between the self and the world, between survivals from an earlier stage and the conditions of the present, occur. So it continues throughout the whole period of childhood up to the renaissance of puberty and adolescence. Thus it comes to pass that for the mental health of the individual one of the most important things is to solve these conflicts and to develop a healthful mental attitude in regard to them.

The minor forms of conflict we need not discuss in detail. The major ones are deep-seated and of far-reaching importance. The minor forms of such conflict may be observed, however, in the petty jars and friction in any domestic, social, or school group. It is such petty conflict that causes the fatigue and reduces the mental efficiency in the individuals of any group.

*Survivals as the Condition of Conflict.**—Most minor conflicts and perhaps most of the major ones seem to be due to the survival of childish attitudes, normal enough perhaps in childhood, but unfortunate when persisting in later life. Common among these are the various egocentric attitudes exalting self and self-interest. So familiar are these that one can find them everywhere.

The urge of a survival from childhood—jealousy, vanity, or the like—is so insistent that when it is opposed to the present self, or the demands of business or social life, it is no wonder that mental conflict results.

Those who care to observe themselves and the people about them can note the way these egocentric attitudes show themselves, not only in self-interest, but in self-dominance, the habit of blaming others, in criticism, and the conceit of knowledge. All these childish attitudes are shown by many persons directly and sometimes stupidly and brazenly; by individuals more intelligent and with more social training, indirectly, cleverly, and often with greater conventional humility. In all, however, as survivals they are unwholesome and likely to be the occasion of mental conflict.

One who desires further examples of such survivals need only observe almost any social group of which one may be a member, and often the more favored and highly selected the group, the more interesting the examples. One may choose for observation even a select social club, a university faculty, or the United States Senate.

Premature Development.—Equally as dangerous as the survival of childish attitudes—some hygienists perhaps would say much more dangerous—is any form of premature or precocious development, and quite as likely to

* See also *The Normal Mind*, Ch. xvi.

be the cause of mental conflicts. Naturally among the more serious are the precocious forms of emotion. This has been emphasized by G. Stanley Hall. The following noteworthy passage furnishes illustration:⁸

Between love and religion, God and nature have wrought a strong and indissoluble bond. Flagellations, fasts, exposure, excessive penances of many kinds, the Hindoo cultus of quietude and mental absorption in vacuity, and even one pedagogic motive of a cultus of the spiritual and supernatural, for example, in the symposium of Plato, are all designed as palliatives and alteratives of degraded love. Change of heart before pubescent years, there are several scientific reasons for thinking, is, as some now say, the most disastrous of all precocities and forcings. The age signalized by the ancient Greeks as that at which the study of what was comprehensively called music should begin, the age at which Roman guardianship ended, as explained by Sir Henry Maine, at which boys are confirmed in the modern Greek, Catholic, Lutheran and Episcopal churches, and at which the child Jesus entered the temple, is as early as any child ought consciously to go about his heavenly Father's business. "It did not seem to me modest for my daughter to hear," said a cultivated and devout German mother, explaining why she had sent her twelve-year-old daughter from the room while I was describing revival scenes I had witnessed in this country. [p. 207.]

Premature developments, especially those of emotional character, are likely to bring about mental conflict as serious as that caused by survivals from childhood.

Domestic Conditions of Conflict.—Many facts noted in preceding pages suggest the great number of mental conflicts caused by unfortunate home conditions. To speak of these at all adequately would require a volume. Especially significant, causing some of the most serious conflicts, are the many unfortunate conditions that seem

to develop in some homes that are apparently among the best—the inevitable frictions in the domestic group, the misunderstandings between parents and children, the inevitable gulf between the ideals and standards of youth and age, the blocking and thwarting of children in their legitimate activities and ambitions by didactic, pedantic, and domineering parents, and the manifold conditions like discase, poverty, and incompatibility of members of the household.

Children of Divorced Parents.—A single illustration presents some of these conditions in large letters, namely, the adolescent children of parents who have been divorced. These conditions are revealed concretely by the behavior of such youth in schools and colleges. A recent article suggests the mental distractions and conflict emphatically by illuminating examples. The dean² of one of our colleges has reported something of his own experience and says in substance that if we should ever have a rating of students on the basis of their mental health, we should find the children of divorced parents in Class C; that they are bound to have serious personality difficulties in meeting the conditions of life; that the bitterness that sometimes develops between divorced father and mother in regard to their son is bound to have its effect on the boy. (p. 98.)

Social Conditions of Conflict.—In society the individual meets one of the prime factors in human education, namely, the force of custom or convention. This usually soon overwhelms the individual. One finds that certain things are not done, they are not conventional. Reasons for this may be lacking; but the fiat of convention is an ultimatum, the individual must yield. "Custom must be humored with custom or custom will weep," wrote Hall

Caine in *The Monxman*. To illustrate this power of convention is unnecessary; but the individual soon meets it in regard to the essentials of life, customs of clothing oneself, of eating, of talking, and all forms of behavior. Inevitably a social self is soon developed. The individual self, the child self, and perhaps the results of domestic training, often clash with the conventional social self, and mental conflict arises.

Professional Conditions of Conflict.—Again it often happens that one's natural personality comes in conflict with one's professional self. In every business or profession, what may be called a professional self is developed. Involved in this are inevitably certain limitations and professional faults. Every one, in whatever occupation, must limit one's activities and narrow the range of one's thinking. Thus certain defects or faults and certain prejudices arise. The natural self is in conflict with the more artificial professional self, and both sometimes in conflict with an unfortunate survival of the child self. Sometimes this self developed by one's occupation becomes dominant, and extreme professional faults are the result. This has rightly been referred to recently by Owen Wister as abnormal, a *déformation professionnel*. This could be illustrated in any business or profession or craft. For example, we may take the teaching profession.

Teachers' Attitudes.—Many teachers, like the members of every other calling, inevitably acquire certain professional attitudes, some of them faults. Among these are likely to be an undue professional seriousness, a standard of perfection for themselves and for their pupils, an overdevelopment of the didactic attitude, with undue emphasis on teaching to the neglect of learning, also in

many cases a professional attitude aggravated by the survival of childish attitudes such as jealousy, a tendency to blame others, and an extreme sensitiveness.

In recent years the emphasis on mental tests, the development of standard tests in the different school subjects, and the like, have often turned the attention of teachers away from the essential processes in the child's mind and the development of healthful personalities. The interest in the results of tests has sometimes supplanted the interest in healthful development. Angelo Patri is reported to have said that teachers are interested only in superior children, and that even in the higher schools the chief interest is in the superior scholars. If it is true in regard to any of the dull and backward children in the schools, that their teachers care not for them, it is a serious condition and can only be a result of a professional deformity among some teachers. Surely a multitude of teachers are interested in all their pupils, dull or bright, slow or quick, average or superior. Neglect of either the dull or the bright is, however, a professional fault against which teachers may well be on their guard. Those teachers who have a pedantic and overconscientious devotion to methods and standards are especially liable to neglect children. All are liable to a conflict between the professional self and the ordinary self.

The Golden Mean.—Hygiene, like education, is relative. The true value of any hygienic, as well as any educational, principle can be seen only when considered in relation to other truths and as modified by related principles. This statement may be made clearer by illustration. In considering the conditions of wholesome integration the great advantage of facing hardship and

the danger of sidestepping difficulties were emphasized. Here we may well note for a few minutes the other side, the advantage of doing things easily.

Nowhere more than in child hygiene is regard for the relativity of integration and for Aristotle's golden mean more necessary. This is true in regard to nearly all the teachings of mental hygiene. It is well illustrated in the application of the principle that a child should be trained to endure hardship and to face difficult situations. Although this principle, as noted above, is of vital importance for sturdy healthful development, on the other hand difficulty often shows that one's method of attack is wrong. As a matter of fact, the profitable and helpful paths are very apt to be the easy ones, and the path of difficulty is often not only unwise but unhygienic. To a large extent nature always follows the law of inertia, and human beings have done the same. The best things also have largely been the easy and pleasant things to perform, and the injurious things often those that were hard and unpleasant. In a word, rugged and hard as the path of human life is, to a large extent in concrete situations difficulty in the way shows that one has neglected some essential preparation or condition of right and healthful performance.

Some people apparently always do things in the hardest way. By the force of some pedantic habit or the conventional way of doing things in one's own little group or community, they insist upon attention to unessential and trivial details and never adopt an easy and efficient method. This is the error of the child who writes his lesson with a dull pencil or a poor pen, the folly of the man who chops wood with a dull ax, and the tragedy of men and women everywhere who, on account of a fear

of the new, neophobia, insist on working in the modern world with ancient but needless hardships.

Thus even in this fundamental principle of facing difficulty and hardship, the teaching of mental hygiene is balanced by a common-sense view of the opposite rule.

The New England Conscience.—The so-called New England conscience, as already noted, is by no means confined to New England; and, as personal experience has shown, it is not unknown among school children and teachers. It consists largely in a meticulous devotion to rules and petty customs, especially those made by and for oneself. It seems to be often a caricature of conscience and that splendid devotion to duty often found among normal men and women. The caricature is not devotion to conscience, but rather to the imperative demands of a survival of childhood's pedantic ego. In any case where it occurs there is apt to be a divorce between conscience and the intellect.

The extremes to which the artificial impulse to act contrary to one's interests and desires may be carried is familiar. Every one with extended experience knows persons who feel that if they really want to do something it cannot be quite right. It often would be ludicrous were it not so pathetic. Schiller's little poem¹⁸ describing the symposium of philosophers in Hades has illustrated this admirably. The scrupulous inquirer propounds his conscientious question to the philosopher Kant in these words:

Gern helf' Ich meine Freunde,
Doch tue es leider mit Neigung.
So würrt es mich oft
Das Ich nicht tugendhaft bin.

The gist of this in modern English is as follows:

Gladly I help my friends,
But I do it, alas, willingly.
So often it worries me
Lest I may not be virtuous.

Similarly, there are a number of superstitions, taboos, and rigorous conventions. The difficulties met, however, in doing one's daily work and in living peaceably with one's neighbors furnish hardship enough without setting up artificial hurdles in one's pathway. Here it should be remembered also that Kant himself emphasized the complacent and cheerful mental attitudes in his special discussion of the power of the mind.

The Psychology of Accidents.—The danger from all the disintegrating conditions, the survivals of childish attitudes and the mental conflicts, is that instead of the responses of the total integrated personality, the responses of a divided personality occur. The practical result of this type of response is shown emphatically in the accidents that everywhere occur from such conditions. Ninety per cent of industrial accidents, according to the investigation by Hulbert,¹¹ are due to mental causes. The conditions that produce these, as he has stated them, are many. Among them are fear in its various forms, day-dreaming, reverie, worry, fatigue, and other conditions, some of them little regarded as distracting. In other words, most of the accidents are due to mental conflict and the responses of a divided personality.

Conflict at Different Ages.—Here, as in all the problems of the healthful personality, it is helpful to study mental conflicts from the genetic point of view. How early in the child's life they occur we do not know. The

Freudians would say with the great shock to the child at birth. Whether they are right in this, undoubtedly the change of stimulation is violent and has its emotional correlative. In any case, as Perez¹⁵ has said, the child at birth is cast like a shipwrecked mariner on an unknown coast and his only weapon is a cry. This crying is the child's first form of speech and the chief means of talking to others for the whole period of infancy. The objective attitude toward crying makes it better understood and saves one from oversentimentality. The crying, however, does not necessarily mean either disintegration or conflict. It seems to be in any case, however disagreeable, a wholehearted response of the personality.

There seems to be little evidence of mental conflict in the young child, at least for the first year of life. The children whose personality was studied by Zoepffel seemed, in most cases at least, to make responses of the whole personality; and the studies of Piaget give little evidence of mental conflict before the age of six or seven. Ordinary observation seems to indicate the same for most children.

Again during what some may call the plateau in the curve of development between the ages of about seven and puberty, apparently only relatively few children give evidence of severe mental conflict.

Adolescent Conflicts.—The period when mental conflict is perhaps most common is that of puberty and adolescence. In the storm and stress of this period conflict is often intensely emotional. This conflict and the survivals of it in later life are largely what fills the world's literature of biography and fiction. It often expresses the tempestuous passions and divine emotions of human personality. Sometimes it represents antinomies, that is,

unsolved and, with our present data, unsolvable, contradictions in the psychology of human personality.

Conflicts Inevitable.—With our lack of knowledge it is inevitable that certain major conflicts will arise. In many of the great problems of life we do not know the path of health and wisdom and must wait in the hope of sometime gaining further knowledge. In other words, we must adopt the scientific attitude of suspense of judgment. But in practical life many problems have to be solved at once, as best we may, without waiting for the verified results of scientific investigation. Making such judgments with inadequate data, some degree of mental conflict is likely to arise in the minds of even the most thorough scientific students.

Since with intelligent persons, whether children or adults, some degree of mental conflict is inevitable and "our natures are born for the conflict," mental hygiene does not take the matter too seriously. Nevertheless a remedy is desirable.

METHODS OF SOLVING MENTAL CONFLICTS

Hygiene is concerned, not only with the prevention, but also with the solution of mental conflict. A few of the many methods used may be briefly noted.

1. *Drugs.*—Apparently one of the oldest and most common methods tried for the removal of mental conflict has been the use of a drug of some kind or some strong stimulant. Of the drugs used, opium, nitrous oxide and hashish have been common. One of the conditions that induce men to take the various drugs is an impossible mental situation that causes what seems a hopeless conflict. Many drugs have an effect for the time being of clearing the mind of such conflict and of making the

mental horizon serene. Long ago William James reported his experience from taking one of these drugs, and noted especially how at a certain stage all philosophic conflicts are cleared up, how no contradictions trouble the mind of the individual under this influence. Since that time the effect of several such drugs has been found in part similar. Especially opium products and alcohol are remedies widely used for this mental condition. The danger from such use is well known, because the result is not permanent and further doses are demanded. Probably the matter is not simple. The desire for mental freedom and expansion, which Patrick emphasizes, is perhaps another factor involved; and still further, the apparent demand of many human organisms for some periodic explosion of nervous energy may also be part of the combination. In any case the urge for some solution of the individual's conflict is often apparently what leads to the use of the drugs.

2. *Ignoring the Conflict.*—One may ignore conflict altogether. As regards minor conflicts this seems often the best form of treatment; for with a little time and rest perhaps they may solve themselves; and even for more serious conflicts, as Freud has pointed out, the mind can very well bear a certain amount of emotion to which no adequate reaction is made. Many conflicts are solved by the day's work. Happiness comes in the doing, fear takes flight, even pain may be forgotten; and thus many conflicts disappear.

3. *Sleep.*—Some persons can solve their mental conflicts by sleep. For the minor conflicts just mentioned this may be an excellent remedy. One awakens often with a clearness of vision that surprises the individual that he

ever saw conflict between the two opposing thoughts or methods.

4. *Repression*.—The usual method is to take one side and repress the other. This we find everywhere. It is, however, the method of the partisan, the sectarian, the bigot, and the omniscient egotist. It is likely to mean arrest of development both for the individual and for society. Mental hygiene shows a more excellent way.

5. *Integration at a Higher Level*.—The fifth method is that of solving the mental conflict by integration at a higher level. What is meant may be shown by cases similar to that given by Holt in his book *The Freudian Wish*.¹⁰

A girl who has been brought up by an excellent mother in a rural community, but who has never had opportunity to see the wider relations of social problems and the like, attends college in a large city. One day an acquaintance, a young man of excellent character and ability, invites her to go to the theater, to see a play having a wide vogue but shady in character. A mental conflict arises. She has respect for the young man; she wishes to have the pleasure of attending the theater; she needs the recreation; and most of all she does not wish to cast reflection on the young man or offend him by refusing. On the other hand she recalls her early training; she had been taught that it is better not to go to the theater; and in this particular case she knows her good mother, to whom she owes everything, would be heartbroken if she did go. What should she do? The mental conflict is distressing. Sensible girl that she is, however, she looks both sides squarely in the face and reflects that the reason her mother objected to the theater was because she felt that its influence was injurious,

the character of the plays objectionable, but that if her mother knew of the educational value of good plays she would change her judgment, that what she really meant in the instruction she gave her daughter was that she should avoid plays that were bad and going to the theater under bad conditions. As a result of this reflection she solves the problem and writes the young man that she would be glad to accept his invitation, but suggests another play of excellent character that she would prefer to see. Naturally the young man, having good sense, adopts the suggestion, and the problem is solved. This case illustrates what is meant by integration at a higher level.

We may take also for illustration of mental conflict among college students a somewhat unusual case, the emotional conflict between sympathy for poverty and suffering and one's interest in one's own legitimate needs. Naturally it will be said that boys of that age seldom think much about human suffering. Some, however, do. Let us take the latter.

A boy has just entered college. His parents have supplied a moderate amount of money for the absolute necessities of his college life—room, board, clothing, books, and tuition. Besides that the boy has two hundred dollars a year for the thousand minor needs in the daily life of a college student. Although this amount is small, it is the largest sum for which he has ever been personally responsible.

In the broader outlook of his new life and with the opportunity to read many papers and magazines, he learns for the first time of some of the pressing needs of various relief agencies. A few dollars will save the life of a starving Chinese; ten dollars will support the

life of an Armenian child for a month; a dozen other crying needs are brought to his personal attention.

Trained as he has been to face reality and to do something, his first impulse is to give the whole of his two hundred dollars for these charitable purposes. Then he thinks of the really necessary little things that he must have, and a severe emotional conflict between his sympathy and the feeling of his own needs arises. What shall he do? In such a conflict different personalities react in different ways, some as follows.

1. The first, and perhaps most natural solution of this conflict, is to forget all about the needs of charity. In the multitude of adolescent interests and the many things demanding attention and money, he is not anxious to remember, and forgets easily; and after the first emotional impulses the youth's life goes on smoothly so far as this conflict is concerned.

2. Again a common solution is to appease one's conscience by giving a dollar or two to the most pressing of these relief movements, and then to become absorbed in one's own needs until a new relief agency demands attention. Then after a little conflict perhaps conscience is again appeased by a small gift; and so one drifts along, the victim of circumstances. Like all methods of temporizing, this is not mentally healthful and does not stimulate the growth of a wholesome personality.

3. A third boy has strong sympathies, faces the reality, and feels most emotionally the suffering and needs of the classes brought to his attention. He is quite well aware that these are cold facts and that people are starving, children in need and suffering; but on the other hand, why should he be the one to give up his own meager allotment, why should not the wealthy give what

is needed? And again, his health and the pressing needs of his work require the money he has; for his actual legitimate needs his allowance is far too little. Thus he makes the usual emotional response, and by such a process of rationalization, finds plenty of excuses to justify his decision in favor of himself.

4. In the cases already mentioned the solution is natural enough and common. The fourth is rare. This is a youth of superior ability, strong character, and highly emotional personality. To him all these movements for relief, all these stories of human suffering are tragically real. He feels the need of sick and starving people in China and of orphan children in the Near East as keenly as if they were his neighbors in the next house. For them he would gladly give, not only his allowance but also the money for his clothing and other absolute needs. This is forbidden by his regard for his parents. His emotional conflict is extreme. He faces all the conditions on both sides of the conflict, and solves it by deciding to give all the money he can to these relief agencies, and begin at once to devote his life to the alleviation of suffering. He economizes in every way. He neglects himself. Soon he slips into the class of the queer. Poorly dressed, unconventional in his behavior, often hungry, nevertheless he persists and rejoices in his decision, and feels that he is following the footsteps of Jesus, Tolstoi, and Gandhi. This youth solved his conflict, but not too wisely.

5. The case of one other boy may be cited. He too notes all the facts on both sides, has keen sympathy for the needy and suffering; also he feels the importance of using the little money he has for his own minor needs. His solution is briefly as follows: He recognizes that the contribution of any individual to human need and human

suffering should be the contribution of one's life as a whole. The highest service can be rendered only by one who develops good health, physical and mental, efficiency in his own calling, and the ability to deal wisely with one's fellow men and coöperate with all the different social groups of which one is a member. The common-sense mental hygiene learned in his home makes him realize that his college course is a part of life; that one should be loyal to the social groups of which one is now a member, his class, his club, his athletic team, the college group, as well as the community outside. To be loyal and coöperate in these groups one must have regard for group customs, be conventional in all minor matters where it is possible, and assert one's personality only in really serious and fundamental things. Feeling it his duty to maintain his health and develop a wholesome personality, he sees that the spending of money for the little needs of social life, for some share in sport, music, and recreation, and for letters, little gifts, and tokens of friendship to relatives and friends, is legitimate and wise. Hence he makes out a budget for his allowance, allotting a small sum, but something, for charity, along with the other demands of college life. Thus he integrates his mental conflict at a higher level, and with good conscience spends most of his allowance for the minor things needed and does not permit his emotional impulses to determine his concrete acts. He attempts to solve his problem in the perspective of his whole life and to acquire the ability not only to earn money but to help people.

Purpose and Fear in Conflict.—The possibility of integrating mental conflict at a higher level is by no means confined to moral questions and philosophical problems. It is often done by business men and workers in all walks

of life, in difficulties of every kind. A single concrete illustration, unique in the matter at issue, but representative of many conflicts that can be solved by higher integration, may be cited—that of Alfredo Codona,⁵ who is said to be the only living man who can make a triple somersault while swinging in the air from one trapeze to another.

Codona has told of his efforts and difficulties in attaining the integration necessary to perform this act. What he does is to swing from one trapeze high in the air to another forty feet high. He makes the passage from the former trapeze into the arms of his brother on the other at a rate of more than sixty miles an hour and makes three somersaults during the passage. This is a most difficult and dangerous performance. The psychological condition essential for this, as he reports it, is an extreme concentration of attention.

More men, it has been said, have been killed in attempting to do this trick than in any other of the feats of circus performers. For five years Codona was unable to acquire the necessary concentration of attention because this was constantly inhibited by the ingrained feeling that, just as many others had been killed in doing this, so he too would be killed. Invariably he would go to pieces in the middle of the act, or "cast," to use the technical term, and fall. Here was a clear conflict between his extreme desire to accomplish this feat and his inhibiting fear. Finally in 1919 he resolved that he would make this acquisition or be killed or quit trying. This resolution made possible the necessary integration at a higher level and removed the inhibition. He fitted up a barn in Shreveport, Louisiana, and went into training with his brother and father. Before spring he had

mastered the act and made it the climax of his initial performance in the Coliseum at Chicago.

Codona is not quite clear about just what happens during his swift passage through the air. At the height of the second somersault apparently he loses all sight, bearing, and sense of position, but during the third somersault and by the time he lands in the strong arms of his brother, he has regained normal consciousness.

Usually Codona succeeds in this trick, sometimes he fails. When he does, the disintegration is as interesting as his previous success. He falls into the net, and when he rises to consciousness of his failure, he tells us, he is overcome with rage. His face becomes flushed, his fists clenched, and sometimes his anger is uncontrollable. He beats the net with his fists, sometimes even bites it, and for a few seconds is beside himself. Then he rises, smiles, climbs the rope ladder to try the feat again.

Some will maintain that Codona's goal was chosen foolishly; but it is obvious that willingness, like his, to face reality, and ability to integrate conflicts, intellectual, social, and moral, at higher levels, would increase the efficiency and mental health of multitudes of boys and girls and men and women everywhere.

Holt's view is made clear by such cases, and in all the discipline of the home, for all the problems of the individual in school and college and society, this method of integration at a higher level is the one he presents. The great advantage of it comes, not merely from solving the distressing problem of the individual, but also from the self-education that one receives by it. This method can be used in the trivial conflicts of the home and the playground, as well as in the great problems of education and society.

Perhaps the most serious of all mental conflict to-day is that of a large class of people between their own desire for a world of things as they would like to have them and their knowledge of the world of things as they are. This conflict takes many forms, according to individual peculiarities. With some it enters into a vast number of important details in daily life. With many it is concerned with the great questions of human life and human destiny. With some it is the old conflict between science and religion; with some, that between conventional opinions and the truths of nature; with some, the perennial conflict between old ways and new ideals; with some men of affairs as well as scientific men and philosophers, the conflict between absolutism and relativity. In any case, with many earnest thinkers and serious students, it is a mental conflict of the gravest import.

Here the real scientific attitude, open-mindedness, the spirit of the learner and integration at a higher level, are emphasized by mental hygiene. Although for many of these conflicts it may seem impossible to apply the scientific method, it can always be used or else the attitude of suspense adopted, just as by the scientist for all those questions for which adequate data are not yet available.

The Objective Attitude.—This is usually a form of integration at a higher level. Many conflicts are solved by any means that enables the individual to take an objective view of them. A common method of doing this is psychoanalysis. The psychiatrist who can get his patient to study fully and objectively the conflicting claims of the two sides of an emotional difficulty, by that view itself often solves the conflict. This is also frequently done by the individual himself who can practice a sort of self-analysis. Again teachers, psychologists,

social workers, physicians, and clergymen who give opportunity for those in need of help to consult them, enable thousands to solve their difficult problems. One wise pastor, for example, reports that the people who consult him, by the mere objective attitude of telling him their problem, often solve their difficulty.

Scientific Study Needed.—For all such conflicts, both minor and major, we have at present no adequate means of prevention. Many more scientific studies are needed. If the objective study of self, however, does its perfect work, no room is likely to be left for the conceit of knowledge and the cocksureness of absolutism.

Unconscious Conflicts.—Much has been written about unconscious mental conflicts. The Freudian literature has given many examples. As has been shown in an earlier chapter (Chapter IV), many of the important activities of human personality are not conscious. Naturally conflict often occurs between some of these activities. This conflict is of many kinds, from the conflict of neural impulses in the nervous system up to the more complex conflicts where one has certain antipathies toward friends highly esteemed in general, or strong affection for certain acquaintances, without knowing it, and unconscious prejudices in regard to problems both of the individual and the social group.

The unconscious conflict, as frequently illustrated, is often dissipated by simply bringing the conflicting impulses into clear consciousness. Where it is not remedied in this way, much the same principles apply for solving unconscious conflicts as for the conscious. Hence no special treatment is required here. An individual who has the ability may find quite as good a remedy in a process of self-analysis as that offered in psychoanalysis

by another individual. The procedure in psychoanalysis, however, has been largely standardized, and for self-analysis this has not been done. In the use of either method care may well be taken to avoid a belief in phantastic and imaginary conflict. From the point of view of hygiene one defect in psychoanalytical procedure is due to the fact that although the strain of psychoanalysis in case of many patients is as great as that of a surgical operation, aseptic methods, to continue the figure, have not yet been developed.

Teaching as an Illustration.—As we chose the teaching profession for an illustration of the danger in every calling of the development of professional faults, we may take the same to illustrate the hygienic view of the mental conflicts liable to occur.

Teaching furnishes a good example on account of the immense difficulties of the calling, the responsibility placed upon the teacher, and the demands of the professional self, which, as suggested above, is not infrequently in conflict with the other selves of the individual personality, together with the conflict arising from survivals of childish attitudes, the imperative impulses of one's individual ego, and social ideals.

It is proverbial that teachers are prone to worry.

*Uneasy lie the heads of all that rule,
His most of all whose kingdom is a school.*

They worry about themselves, about their school work, about their positions, their tenure of service, their future, their relations to pupils, to their colleagues, to officials, and about their own reputations, their probable degree of success, their personal emotional problems, and a thousand other matters, personal or professional. The

writer as teacher has had his share of such worries; and, although the term worry is a broad one, not always clear, he has come to believe that most of the worries, so-called, of whatever kind, really involve some form of mental conflict, consisting of all sorts of interference in intellectual as well as emotional processes. Hence the teacher is greatly helped who can ignore the minor conflicts, or work them off, and who has learned to integrate the major conflicts at higher levels, thus making them conditions of personality growth.

Religious teachers who, perhaps more often than any others except mental hygienists, are called upon to answer questions in regard to mental conflicts and the like, will never have the respect rightfully their due until they acquire not only the rigorous standards of truth demanded by their calling, but also an intelligent ignorance and the habit of scientific honesty that will enable them to answer by the simple confession of ignorance the questions in that large field where we have no knowledge. The first condition of health in one's own personality, and for success in one's profession as teacher, is honesty.

What is meant is shown concretely by a single example. Among the queries recently brought to a prominent clergyman was this: "When does the young child acquire a soul?" To this the answer was given in substance as follows: "The child acquires a soul as soon as it is capable of existence independent of its mother. This may be before birth, although after conception." Probably no special student of childhood and psychogenesis could be found who could refer to any evidence whatever for such an answer, even if allowed to make one's own definition of the term "soul."

The high character and common-sense of such preachers would be distinctly enhanced if in those cases where they and everybody else are ignorant, the reply were simply the straightforward and wholesome one, "I do not know."

The Teacher's Opportunity.—Although teachers are perhaps especially liable to mental conflicts, on the other hand they have certain special advantages that are helpful for the prevention and solving of them. First of all, of course, is the teacher's own work. It is a task especially worth while, giving opportunity for the highest intellectual ability, appealing to interests, human, educational, moral, hygienic, psychological, and artistic, a task like the artist's, worth while for its own sake. It gives also a rare opportunity for the observation and study of human personality in its growth and development, and also for self-study and self-revelation. Thus it furnishes excellent help for the prevention of mental conflicts in the teacher himself, and for cure, by the usual methods and aids for solving those that occur.

The Hygiene of Instruction.—The welfare of teachers and the health of pupils are bound up together. In noting this it is well to remember that a few hygienic essentials are vastly important. It is helpful if the teacher has a wholesome personality. It is helpful if one who teaches has an interest in each individual pupil and respect for the personality of each. It is helpful if one has a hygienic perspective and never sacrifices a child's healthful attitude for the exigencies of instruction or personal interest. It is helpful if one never by an unwise zeal for instruction robs a child of his legitimate task. It is better to avoid trouble by tact than to attempt a doubtful cure by punishment. In a word, it is

helpful if one knows the essential teachings of mental hygiene and applies them for the benefit of each individual pupil, and for the solution of one's own mental conflicts.

Conflict as Opportunity.—Everybody has mental conflict of some kind and in some degree. This is likely to cause incipient fear, confusion, anxiety, and a feeling of uncertainty. It, however, some one may say, is the inevitable condition of mental growth and development. True enough, mental conflict does give opportunity for development. If it is solved by sleep, it does little harm. If it is solved by an objective attitude, it is well. That is a condition of growth and involves practice in a healthful attitude. If it is solved by integration at a higher level, that means growth and development of the wholesome personality.

Absolutism and Relativity.—The most fundamental form of mental conflict is perhaps what may be called that between absolutism and relativity. Although this has to do with philosophical conceptions, it is by no means absent in the experiences of everyday life. Outstanding forms of this conflict are common in connection with party politics, social beliefs, and moral dogmas; and the prejudices involved are deep-seated and persisting.

Whenever an individual who has been trained from early life according to some absolute code of morals, or certain social, political, economic, educational, or other absolute standards, makes extended study of these subjects and finds that moral, social, educational, and other principles are largely relative, and modified by conditions of time, place, and the like, frequently severe mental conflict arises between one's devotion to these abso-

lute standards and one's acquired knowledge of relativity. Concrete examples of this conflict in regard to religious beliefs and one's principles of party politics are familiar. Conflict may occur also in regard to scientific knowledge and belief.

A concrete example is what seems to have been a fact, that when Einstein's doctrine of relativity was announced, some scientists were badly upset by the conflict between their old absolute views of scientific truth and the new doctrine of relativity.

In the study of education it has long been recognized that aims, principles, and even methods, are relative. They are relative to the age, country, locality, and especially to the stages of development in the individual child. Whenever such truths come in conflict with the absolute aims and standards that have grown up in any particular community, cases of mental conflict are liable to arise, not merely among so-called educational theorists and in the home and the school in connection with the education of individual pupils, but even in the wider field of so-called self-education and in mental hygiene.

Practical Applications Relative.—Absolutism, it should be noted, manifests itself in criticism. The individual is bound to see mistakes and imperfections, plenty of grounds for criticism, from the point of view of any absolute standard. For practical methods are always relative. Thus the conflict between absolutism and relativity develops in the individual consciousness. If one's life is largely divorced from practical affairs, this absolutism and the pedantic criticism that results are likely to be seriously developed; and the conflict between the pedantic standards of the individual and the relative

standards in all practical activities is likely to become extreme.

The Tendency to Absolutism.—Newton's experience with the falling apple has furnished a popular illustration in physics for generations of schoolboys and girls. Modifying the usual statement to meet the conditions of modern relativity, it has been suggested that one might say the ground moved upward and Newton struck the falling apple. It is not necessary, however, to take illustrations from abstruse theories. Plenty of examples, both of absolutism and of relativity, are furnished in the individual differences in human nature.

Some people think and form their judgments in definite quantitative terms according to absolute standards. Their neighbors are good or bad; their acquaintances are either friends or enemies; their business associates, honest, intelligent, and efficient, or shiftless, ignorant, and untrustworthy. Their opinions of writers and public men are as definite as their opinions of their friends and neighbors. If they happen to be teachers, their ideal standard is mathematical correctness. For every task there is one right method. An answer is either correct or incorrect. For a word there is one proper pronunciation, one correct spelling, and one right use. Where divided usage occurs, their own preference gives definite decision. In some individuals such devotion to absolute ideals and standards becomes, not only a matter of habit, but of honor, conscience, and duty. In an unstable world where few things are standardized such absolutism is likely to be injurious.

In the adjustment necessary to modern conditions and to the teachings of modern science, some individuals are bound to suffer mental stress and disappointment. Ac-

cording to some recent writers who have summed up the story of disillusionment, all our ideals of beauty and all the higher motifs of art have been shattered on the rock of scientific fact. Our moral and æsthetic ideals and canons, they argue, have been shown to rest on no basis of reality, but rather on human desire and human imagination. Thus all the old truths that have been the foundation of our beliefs in the meaning of life and the significance of life have been discarded; and in general all individual and social standards that have been the ground of appeal, to show that life is worth living, have crumbled before the cold facts of scientific truth. Thus man has been left shipwrecked and alone without spar or rudder or scrap of a raft on which to cling, a puny creature, with no reliable standards, no significant goal, no adequate aids, and no satisfaction for his most deep-seated desires and emotions.

All such pessimists fail to see what is implied in scientific research and its results. And most of all they fail to see the fallacies of their own reasoning. Apparently in all their inquiry they have never raised the question whence came the ideals, standards and conceptions of beauty that to-day they lament as lost. It is in fact the great glory of man to have been able to develop these ideals of life and human behavior. It is the great glory of man that in an unethical world he was nevertheless able to develop ethical codes of purity and justice, that in a world of mechanism and crude materialism, if such it be, man himself was able to achieve poetic insights and produce the great epics and dramas of humanity. It was also man himself who developed the inspiring ideals of human life and the goals for practical achievement in individual life and society. All these are

facts, and all these are the product of mansoul itself, as Stanley Hall would have called it; and if science shows that they are all relative, by this very fact it suggests that they are in substance true or else something better.

Thus the fear of scientific investigation is as unwarranted as it is unreasonable. What is needed is not less science but more; not less of the investigations of pessimists and iconoclasts, but more thorough investigation. In a word, what is needed is scientific study in all departments of human thought. The great contribution of Einstein, in showing the truth of relativity in astronomy in place of the older absolutism that could conceive of nothing more certain and more unchangeable than the law of gravitation, should be extended to other departments of human thinking. This would show how fallacious is the reasoning of the pessimists who find the old has been turned upside down and who fear while they accept the new. It is precisely this higher conception of relativity that will give the possibility of integration at a higher level in the fundamental mental conflict just referred to.

For a moment it is helpful to take the genetic point of view. Apparently a child's first religious feelings are developed in relation to its parents. At a later stage, sometimes earlier than at others, according to home environment, the child learns from its parents some simple religious faith or at least some simple philosophy of the world. From the knowledge of parents with superior power, on whom the child is dependent, the transition is easy to the conception of a still more powerful being on whom one is dependent. This belief and other religious feelings become familiar. Hence they become dear to the individual.

Later, by what is heard or read or by one's own thinking, doubt may be cast on this faith of the home. The individual defends it, elaborates arguments for it, rationalizes it, and this with all the ardor and emotion correlated with any part of the ego-complex. Probably it becomes a water-tight or doubt-tight compartment in the mind. Arguments flow around it but do not touch it. Doubt no longer troubles it.

If one happens to be educated in a very different way, and taught perhaps that religion is an evil, that it is a superstition, a mental disorder or the like, a similar experience occurs, although quite the reverse of what has been mentioned. Of this we have at least one case in evidence, namely, that of John Stuart Mill. A most interesting account is given in his autobiography.¹³

Mill was educated and trained most rigorously by his father, who taught him that religion is the bane of society, that the duty of good men is to oppose it and combat its influence; and Mill has told us how, during the early years of life, up to the age of twenty or twenty-one perhaps, he was merely the mouthpiece of his father, and did little or no independent thinking. But later, in a manner similar to that illustrated by the New England child trained in a narrow conventional religion, so Mill, little by little, began to doubt the narrow creed taught him by his father, began to see arguments for religion, and throughout his life, doubting the paternal teachings more and more, and seeing more and more evidence for religion, gradually he drifted toward orthodoxy, so that in the essays published after his death he had distinctly approximated the position of recognizing the truth of religion.

Having once accepted the creed of one's fathers,

whether orthodox or heterodox, having once taken sides with the philosophic camp into which one is born, it may become a matter of personal individual interest to defend this mode of thought, to defend the home creed. One attempts to find arguments for it, that is, one is forced by insistent personal demands to rationalize the position taken as an advocate of this creed of childhood. Thus we find numbers of people who may be open-minded in regard to many things, but who can admit no doubts, no imperfection of the narrow beliefs of any kind inherited and acquired in the early years of life.

Again a very different course of development may occur. At adolescence perhaps extreme doubt and extreme reaction against conventional religion may develop. The youth, anxious to be true to his own convictions, becomes an avowed skeptic, perhaps an avowed atheist; and this position once taken must be rationalized for the sake of the "dear ego," and so a vast amount of arguments and doubts against religion or philosophy is accumulated, and perhaps here again the ego-complex is developed.

Intelligent youth in colleges and universities to-day are likely, as a study of Johns Hopkins students in philosophy indicated, to have a more or less serious mental conflict in regard to religious and philosophical belief. With many this becomes an occasion for serious emotional distress. Of those who have this experience, some turn away from the subject as best they can and accept the creed of their family and the community where they live. Another class study the subject with the aim of rationalizing their inherited belief by finding arguments to support it. A third class react strongly against what they have been taught by throwing it all overboard.

And finally a highly intelligent group adopt the scientific method of suspense of judgment while they study the problems involved.

To certain minds any such suspense of judgment, any such relative solution of problems, is abhorrent. Just as some children can never leave a simple task without completion, just as certain mentally disordered patients can never leave a thing unfinished when once begun, so individuals of this class can never leave the emotional and philosophical problems of life without solution, and must say the last word, whether any sound basis for decision is available or not. Such are the people who dodge the effort of mental conflict and who gain a pseudo-integration by dogmatism.

In contrast with this class are those who feel the task they undertake is worth while for its own sake, who are ready to meet difficulties with courage and zest, who find that the investigation of problems may be worth while for the sake of the study itself, whether one reaches an ultimate solution or not.

Type Distinctions Relative.—Even this distinction into two classes of thinkers is relative. Apparently those who tend to absolutism would be aided in personality development by research work upon difficult problems where suspense of judgment is necessary. The other class, who tend to relativity, would perhaps be helped by having to solve general business and educational problems but with freedom for intelligent scientific experimentation. Both need scientific training, but would probably be helped by having part of this in the opposite camp.

SUMMARY

The conditions of mental conflicts and the methods for solving them are many. They begin in childhood in the conflict between the child's desires and the stubborn facts in the environment. This conflict in most people continues all through life and seldom, if ever, is fully solved. Children who are let alone in the early years to make their own contacts with the world, do learn something of the laws of possibility and impossibility and of the inexorable facts of nature, and thus are saved from much conflict. Among the conditions that tend to produce mental conflicts are the following:

1. The survivals of childhood, especially the egoistic emotions and the habit of rationalization. Jealousy may be used as a concrete illustration. A condition that tends to develop some of the most serious mental conflicts is a survival from childhood of the conflict between the world of things as we should like to have them and the world of things as they are.

2. Premature developments. Any premature or unrelated development is looked upon with grave suspicion by hygienists. Such are often the conditions producing intense mental conflicts. Any extreme development of a sense of responsibility for the activity of others, before the period of puberty, is an example.

3. Unfortunate domestic conditions. The conflict of parental egos and the many ways in which parents spoil their children, are examples.

4. Many social conditions favor the development of conflicts. A general illustration is the conflict between a survival of the child self and the social self.

5. Professional conditions are sometimes the causes

of conflict. Here the conflict of the domestic self with that of the professional self is a general illustration.

6. Any extreme development that disregards the relativity of truth and the way an important principle is modified by related principles, may be a condition of severe conflict. An illustration is the conflict when an individual desires very much to do something but for that very reason feels that it is wrong to do it.

7. The methods of solving mental conflicts are many. Some are bad, some good. The use of drugs is an example of the bad; the solution of conflict by integration at a higher level is an example of the good.

8. Just as mental conflicts vary in character at the different periods of development, so the method of solving such conflicts naturally changes with children, adolescents, or adults.

9. The nature of mental conflicts varies too with different occupations and different professions. Taking the teaching profession as an illustration, it appears that teachers, on account of the difficulties and anxieties of their work, and because of a certain professional sensitiveness, are especially prone to such conflicts. Teachers, however, have special opportunity for combating mental disorders—a transeendent task, opportunity for studying the teachings of psychology and mental hygiene, and opportunity to study human personality in the making.

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CHAPTER XI

SURVIVALS AND PITFALLS

SINCE, as we have seen, so few people have ever grown up and altogether put away childish things, one of the best ways for adults to study themselves is to study children; and one of the best ways for teachers to learn about themselves is to study their pupils. To illustrate in detail how common survivals of childish attitudes are would be banal. Examples appear in the newspaper every day and are found in all forms of industry and business, in the different professions, in the offices for the management of great affairs, and in the halls of state. Senator Pepper has said that the ninety-six members of the United States Senate represent each a different kind of personality, but in one thing all of them seem to be alike. Every one of them apparently has survivals of childish attitudes.

In our study of personality repeated reference has been made to survivals from childhood. It may be helpful to bring together some of these. From the hygienic point of view three classes are important: (1) survivals injurious to healthful development, (2) survivals helpful to development, (3) survivals of intellectual processes and methods only indirectly significant for health.

INJURIOUS EMOTIONAL SURVIVALS

The survivals most commonly discussed are injurious emotional attitudes. Of these we may take for illustra-

tion jealousy, and the blaming impulse and sensitiveness, which should be considered together.

Jealousy

Jealousy in Children.—Jealousy, as everybody knows, is one of the signs of the developing ego in children, and also one of the most common survivals of childish attitudes in adults. Among children it is so common that illustration is hardly needed. Since in the early years the child's mind is egocentric, jealousy should perhaps be deemed a normal defense mechanism of the child self.

Miss Sybil Foster has made a study of the personality and social setting of fifty jealous children. On the basis of this study she has been able to make helpful suggestions in regard to the treatment of such children. The trouble is apt to come from or be exaggerated by the unwise treatment of parents and the illness or physical defect of the children. One or two of the examples given by Miss Foster are representative: *

A boy of four years three months was delighted with his baby sister until he saw his mother one day cover the baby with a blanket that had been his own. After that he was violently jealous, could not be left alone with the baby as he was once found sitting on her and pounding her.

A little girl of eighteen months was so jealous of her mother that she once attacked her father for simply laying his hand on his wife's shoulders.

A girl of two years four months is devoted to her mother but resents her father's affection for her mother. If he kisses the mother first on leaving home the child refuses to kiss him.

One of the cases described in detail by Miss Foster will

be sufficient for illustration. The case is of a little Italian girl, three years of age, Angelina Romano. The mother is bright and intelligent but never attended school, the father in good health, a machinist commanding good wages. The girl was a food fussy from infancy and when brought to the clinic disliked all foods; if forced to eat, would vomit, and thus caused consternation in the family; she suffered also from insomnia and night terrors. She was particularly jealous of her sister Maria. One day she smashed her doll on the stove rather than give it to her sister; she fought continually with her, and if the younger child was held she immediately demanded attention. Her mother sometimes teased her saying, "I like Maria best, she is a good girl." This always produced tears. The discipline had been what might be expected; the mother's method was spanking; the father objected to this and comforted the girl. Threats were often used, the most effective being, "You stop or the doctor will scrape out your throat." After examination at the clinic she was sent to spend the summer with an aunt, who had good success with her. After a few days the aunt calmly asserted her position as leader. Angelina settled down to a normal routine of living, eating, and sleeping, but was inclined to demand her full share of attention and felt jealous of her cousins, but did not resort to whining and physical complaints except when visited by her parents.

Such a case shows how difficult it is to treat children of this kind. If the parents are largely children also in their mental attitudes the situation is peculiarly bad. In this particular case, after Angelina returned from her aunt's, the parents tried to avoid any unfavorable comparisons among the children, stopped their habit of teas-

ing them, and if two articles could not be bought, one for each of the sisters, both went without. When Maria needed a new hat and Angelina did not, the mother said "I just saved a little more and got them both hats, or she would have been so unhappy." (p. 70.)

Jealousy as a Survival.—The characteristics of jealousy as a survival in adolescence and adult life have been portrayed by ten thousand writers; its injury to the mental health is a commonplace among psychiatrists; and its influence in the family, in social groups, and in shaping the course of history, is now recognized. The way it affects the personality has been vividly portrayed by Hawthorne⁷ in his little story of *The Bosom Serpent*. Gesell⁸ made a careful study of it, the results of which are published in his thesis on jealousy.

As a subtle poison in the minds of youth, jealousy must be reckoned with. An obstacle met by all rulers, it is no less potent where one's kingdom is a school. It helps if we recognize its origin as a natural defense of the dominant self of the early years. Patience, tact, and a sound genetic psychology are the necessary resources for the teacher.

Jones⁹ concludes a study of jealousy in substance as follows: Jealousy is usually pathological and it indicates a deficiency in capacity to love, lack of self-confidence, a survival feeling of guilt. It is a sign of weakness and not strength of affection, and has its origin in fear and unconscious guilt.

Blame and Sensitiveness

Blame.—A natural outgrowth of self-love, as was noted in an earlier chapter (Chapter II), is the impulse to blame somebody or something when things go wrong.

This appears sometimes at an early age. It seems to be conditioned, not only by a natural impulse, but by the example of adults. The writer was asked what should be done for a child six years of age who constantly blames other people. What should be done for such a premature development of the blaming impulse, I do not know, but feel confident that such a case would not occur at this early age unless the child's parents were in the habit of blaming people.

The overdeveloped ego and the blaming impulse show interrelated aspects. We are vain, hence we blame others to protect ourselves. When, as usually happens, this blaming impulse persists into adult life, it may become an obsession.

Some years ago, while waiting in the lobby of the old Crawford House in Boston, I saw a man who had met with a ludicrous accident. Another guest had sat upon his derby hat accidentally but disastrously.

The owner, not perhaps that he cared so greatly for his hat, but because the splendid opportunity offered to blame somebody could not be lost, blamed the unfortunate hat-crusher most violently, beginning his attack, continuing it and ending it with the repeated charge, "You destroyed the hat! You destroyed the hat!" Explanations and apologies by the man and the proprietor fell upon deaf ears. Like a monomaniac, the owner returned to the charge, "You destroyed the hat!"

This incident, trivial and banal as it may appear, is a representative example of the common form of blame; on the one hand, the emotional impulse, on the other, a temporary obsession by an insistent idea.

Of all foolish and wasteful mental processes that of blaming others is one of the worst and most childish. It

accomplishes nothing ordinarily that cannot be done better in some other way. It causes indifference, fear, anger, heartache, or at least a wasteful interference of association in the mind of child or adult who is blamed, and often upsets the blamer himself.

Plenty of people, of course, are to blame and should be blamed, but whoever has to do the blaming may well be careful not to drop back into the childish attitude of doing this merely for the sake of satisfying the urgent impulse to blame some one. The only right attitude is that suggested by adapting the words attributed to the great master, "Let him who never makes mistakes among you cast the first stone."

Many Utopias have been suggested by idealistic reformers. Most of them have been futile because they have not considered the limitations of human nature, and suggest the farmer who should think that by using a certain kind of a scythe one can get more hay out of a field than there is grass growing in it.

Mental hygiene, however, suggests that if we should merely stop blaming one another, that would go a long way toward producing a Utopia of happiness. The place to begin this is in the home and the school.

To-day, of course, we have perfected the art of blaming to such an extent that we can satisfy the urge to blame our companions and at the same time camouflage the criticism by describing how we should have done a thing, or by suggesting improvement; or by that most exasperating form of exalting our own ego and of expressing our readiness to rob another of his task: "You ought to have let me do it."

This impulse is so common and the expression of it so habitual in most people that, try as best we can, the

majority of us succeed at most merely in controlling it, and it seems so natural that, for many at least, it would be impossible to eradicate it. Like the bad grammar and mispronunciation we acquired in childhood, when we are off our guard it is always likely to crop out.

Sensitiveness.—Another survival perhaps from a later stage, extreme sensitiveness, is rather subtly related to the blaming habit; for what is sensitiveness itself usually but a habit of blaming those who, as we think, unjustly blame us? As the word is commonly used it indicates a fear of being blamed or else a survival of the blaming impulse itself. Thus blame and sensitiveness must be considered together. Sensitive people are easily hurt; they get sore; every rebuff makes a wound; every suggestion of fault or defect gives pain; every criticism is intolerable. In concrete cases, however, the sensitive person who aims at objective self-knowledge finds, by careful analysis, that what he really does is likely to be merely to blame others for blaming himself.

Although the impulse to blame seems to be universal, the fear of being blamed is perhaps equally common. Again, the fear of blame is the reason we blame others. It is the defense mechanism always at hand. Blame your neighbor first before he blames you. Of all vicious circles this is one of the worst. Blamed from childhood, we acquire a chronic fear of blame, and fearing blame, we blame others.

Thus the fear of being blamed is quite as bad for the mental health as the blaming habit itself. How common is this fear, at least in subacute form, few people realize. It crops out in a hundred ways. "Don't blame me," warns your coworker whose suggestion you reject. Even to a child who refuses our advice we say, "You mustn't

blame me if you suffer for this." And many people have such a fear of taking any responsibility that they never render a definite decision, and sidestep all clear-cut action where possible blame might result.

Many children, by inheritance or unfortunate early training, become so sensitive to rebuke or criticism that they suffer keenly, often without the teachers or parents having any knowledge of this whatever. Mr. Crane⁴ cites a woman who tells of her own experience:

When I was a tiny child, my mother would say something which would hurt till my heart felt as though it would shrivel and die. I would not let her know how I felt for anything. I would go off by myself and abandon myself in a frenzy of grief—for the time I would be practically out of my head—clutching the air and writhing around as though a hot flame were playing over me. I often thought of self-destruction, but was then, as I am now, too cowardly to make my thoughts become actualities. At those times I would wonder why my mother wasn't like other girls'—why she didn't try to understand and love and help me. If it hadn't been for my kitten, which I loved passionately, I think I should have passed away from pure misery. For such emotional storms were not occasional but everyday affairs. As it was, I was pale, lean, forlorn, and anæmic. With added years. I've gained some self-control, but there is much of that little girl still left in me. [p. 26.]

The literature of the subject is full of such cases and examples of their suffering. The survivals of these attitudes are equally common in youth and adult life, and one of the great problems of mental hygiene is to prepare for mature experience by training such sensitive children to a more wholesome attitude.

No one perhaps of the so-called minor defects of character causes so much heartache and worry among people

generally as the survival of this childish impulse to blame on the one hand and the survival of the adolescent characteristic of extreme sensitiveness on the other hand. The latter among certain classes of people is perhaps more often the source of sorrow than the former.

Thus this so-called sensitiveness, as just noted, is apt to be fear of blame. It illustrates the yearning for love and security that all, especially the young, have, as well as the sense of inferiority and depression some have from failure to get these supports. One remedy is the objective attitude, considered in Chapter VII. This involves the insight that people do not mean to be severe, or even that one deserves blame, or that the one who blames is not to be taken seriously, or better still, the humorous attitude; and the query why should anybody have the nerve to blame another person, or why should one feel sore because another feels the need of the compensation of blaming somebody? The great advantage of the objective attitude is this. If your performance is imperfect it will help you to do better. If it is not at fault you can see the humor of your critic's conceit. In any case this attitude is the desirable one, enabling the individual to study his own performance as well as his critic's judgment.

When, however, you meet a person who blames merely to satisfy the natural impulse to blame something, where even if you do your best you can not satisfy the individual, then you can reflect that the act of blaming you is a relief to him and it is not likely to hurt you. When a pupil, for example, in school tries to do the best possible and yet cannot avoid blame by the teacher, then, however unpedagogical it may seem, the message of mental hygiene for the pupil is: face about; do your work

as best you can; take the blame if it comes and you will at least cease to fear it. Rules have been formulated for sensitive people, but the reader had best make his own.

Rules for the Sensitive.—The writer is skeptical in regard to the value of "don'ts," but for those who like them, the following perhaps may serve:

1. When you are hit in a sore place and feel hurt, do not accept the first report at its face value. Like political news it is likely to be greatly exaggerated.

2. Don't think the matter over and dwell upon it. You have no adequate data, and imagination is sure to suggest unwarranted inferences.

3. Do not blame the person who hurt you, for probably you yourself in like manner have often hurt others.

4. You are probably hypersensitive, and one reason for it is that you are afraid of being blamed.

5. Remember that your own feelings are no gauge of reality.

A Substitute for Blame.—Naturally the advantages that sometimes come from blame will be pointed out. Teachers and parents feel the natural impulse to blame children when they obviously deserve it. Hygiene, however, suggests a possible substitute. Whatever the child's misconduct, it is well, before blaming or punishing, to find out, if possible, the cause of the misdemeanor. Many teachers and parents, as everybody knows, blame children unjustly. As soon as they find out that the reason for the child's bad behavior is some serious condition in the family—illness perhaps of father or mother, lack of food and other necessities of life, or perhaps some chronic defect or disease in the child, not infrequently toothache—as soon as this is discovered the teacher's attitude changes and sympathy for the child takes the place of blame.

In view of the many conditions that produce conduct disorders known by every teacher, hygiene points out many other serious causes and conditions, unknown by adults and often by children themselves, that account for misconduct. These unknown and indefinite causes may be quite as serious as those that are known, and would change the teacher's attitude quite as radically if they were known. In other words, among the conditions that are the occasion of blame, a host are indefinite and unknown. These might be labeled "X." The teacher who has psychological insight and an understanding of childhood will realize that this "X" is as significant as any other cause and may well be made a reason for changing one's attitude. Thus the suggestion of hygiene may be put as follows: When one feels the impulse to blame, wait at least until an effort is made to find the cause; and when it can not be found, give due regard to this unknown condition "X."

Fortunately the aim really to understand children has now become a practical objective. The Massachusetts Society for Mental Hygiene, recognizing that the business of education is to understand children, has begun the publication of a little magazine for teachers called *Understanding the Child*. When this aim becomes universal among teachers and parents, then blame will largely disappear. Until that time comes, hygiene emphasizes the importance of considering the unknown causes of bad behavior.

The teacher, hard pressed with unruly pupils, may naturally ask, "When children misbehave, what shall we do if we cannot blame them?" To this question mental hygiene suggests that other methods are usually better. It is often better to punish a child for misconduct than

to blame him. In regard to the pupil's fault the teacher may say, "That is not done in this school. A pupil who does it is punished. Next time you will understand better." Frequently merely this statement will be enough, but if punishment seems necessary, that can be given also as an aid to the pupil's memory next time.

This statement, calmly made to the child without any blame, "That is not done in this school, and the pupil who does it is punished," has the great advantage that it makes clear to the child that the punishment is no personal matter, but inflicted because the misconduct was contrary to the rules of the group and condemned by the members of the group.

Let the teacher try the experiment of blaming no pupil, either directly or indirectly, for one week and note the results. With preventive discipline, punishment is seldom necessary and, when needed, usually is better without blame. Try a moratorium at least for a week.

A Parable.—In the household of the human mind there was one sinister individual whose name was Blame. Originally appointed to help in the correction of mistakes and errors, gradually this member of the household became egoistic, unduly sensitive and cynical, always rejoicing to find some person guilty whenever things went awry. Blame had four handmaidens: Suspicion, a kind of detective, wonderfully clever in thinking of persons or things that might be to blame; Jealousy, who worked with Suspicion, especially in detecting those who bestowed their affection unjustly or unwisely; Envy, who aided her mistress Blame, especially in cases where honor or riches were bestowed; and Revenge, characterized by strength of character but also with great sensitiveness of her ego,

finding satisfaction only in all offenses for which some one might be punished.

Thus after a time it came to pass that Blame, with her four handmaidens, made life in the human household unbearable. It was clear that something must be done, so the other members, Justice, Prudence, Good Sense, Good Understanding, and the rest, consulted together and decided to try an experiment as follows: that thereafter Blame should take no part in managing the household and that in case of need of the original function of Blame as an aid in remedying mistakes and error, a high commission consisting of Good Understanding, Tact, Benevolence, Helpfulness and Wisdom should decide to what extent Blame may be helpful in the individual case, and at no other time should anybody be censured for anything, real or suspected, whatsoever. The result already has been at least an improvement in the character of Blame and her handmaidens.

Negativism.—A not uncommon survival is a negative attitude of mind. Some people are antagonistic to whatever is suggested—a normal attitude perhaps at the age of four. In extreme cases they oppose any plan or project, or even any statement made by another. If they are in general sensible persons and their coöperation is desired, this can easily be obtained usually by suggesting indirectly the given plan, and when the matter comes up for discussion, waiting until they suggest the plan as their own, and then agreeing with them. Or more surely, perhaps, one can suggest the opposite of what one desires, present that forcibly and then agree to the person's negative attitude. Thus such extreme cases may be called negatively dependable.

To test such people, to determine whether this is a

survival of childish negativism or not, is easy. The test is merely to suggest a most trivial matter and note their reaction. If the attitude is a survival, the response will be negative, however trivial the matter at issue. The writer recalls such a case. If one said to this man in the morning, "It is likely to be fair weather to-day," the reply was immediate, "It will rain before noon." If, on the other hand, one said, "We are going to have rain to-day, probably before noon," the reply would be, "Haven't you any more confidence in the weather than that? There will be no rain to-day." Again in discussion this objector would prove his own view by the forcible and positive statement, "I read it in to-day's paper." If your own authority, however, were the newspaper, equally forcible would be his statement, "You can't believe what you read in the papers." More highly educated persons may have a more refined and subtle negativism. They object perhaps with a partial agreement; "Yes and No," they respond, or, "There's another side to all this."

HEALTHFUL SURVIVALS

Some of the characteristics of childhood are healthful and valuable helps to personality development. Among these are: confidence or freedom from associated or conditioned fears, straightforwardness or freedom from artificial defense mechanisms; and a sense of dependence under certain conditions. Reference has been made again and again to the child's forms of concentrated attention. Although a child can give attention to one thing for only a short period of time, while it lasts it is a response of the whole personality, a power of integration that is a most valuable survival. As a further example, the impulse to orderly activity may be taken. This, as

we have seen (Chapter VI), is fundamental and even more deep-seated than the so-called instinctive activities.

Of the wholesome attitudes that should persist, are also the naïveté and singlemindedness of children, their attention to the present and to the realities of their environment. Such survivals from childhood have often been noted in certain great men who have been fortunate enough to have biographers with psychological perspective. Sometimes also among common men and women, and sometimes among professional men, survivals of an older, simpler, and perhaps more wholesome, form of living are found.

When I was in college I used to see an interesting member of the faculty in his walks about the campus, the Professor of Modern Greek, Sophocles by his academic name. His simple mien suggested a representative of an older civilization. We knew little about him, but had heard rumor perhaps that he lived in a primitive way, that he kept hens in his room to lay eggs for his breakfast, and that he treated a few friends with wine sent to him from the vineyards of his old home in Greece. In a noteworthy article, however, Professor Palmer² has described him as the most Homeric man he ever knew. He was accustomed to living alone, but barring his tendency to sarcasm and cynicism, he was childlike and the friend of children. Beneath his rugged exterior he had a human tenderness. Palmer says of him: "Toward dumb and immature creatures his tenderness was more frank, for these could not thank him. Children always recognized in him their friend. A group of curly-heads usually appeared in his window on Class Day."

Other examples were Lincoln, Thoreau, John Burroughs, and many American pioneers.

The Sense of Dependence

One of the charming characteristics of childhood is the sense of dependence and the child's feeling of security and confidence in its parents. The significance of this feeling in regard to religion, as representing an essential element of the religious consciousness, has already been noted. Its social significance is also great. It tends to cement domestic ties and to stabilize the home. It illustrates those attitudes that are normal in childhood but abnormal when they survive in adult life. Although the long period of childhood with its dependence on parents is a condition of normal development, it is likely to be abnormal if this dependence is not outgrown. The danger of this survival is made emphatic by the cases where normal emancipation from parents does not occur; the example of Ruskin, for example, cited in Chapter XIII.

Dependence Common.—The sense of dependence survives in adult life more commonly than is usually supposed. Everybody, apparently, depends upon somebody or upon something. In health this dependence is largely upon one's own strength and one's own knowledge, but also upon one's fellow beings. In disease it is more obvious and more concrete, dependence on one's physician, or one's nurse, or the like.

Observation and reflection give manifold illustrations. All depend on the institutions and symbols of law and order. The different members of a family usually depend on the father and mother, and often upon relatives. The members of society depend upon each other and upon social conventions; the business man on his lawyer; the employer upon trusted employees; the employees often largely upon their employer. All classes, both laborers

and professional men, depend upon certain leaders; and all upon the recognized official representatives of local and national government.

How deep-seated this sense of dependence is, and how necessary and desirable the satisfaction of it, is illustrated everywhere. Some persons give us a sense of steadiness and dependableness. A laboring man gave as his reason for wanting General Wood as a candidate for the presidency by saying, "Somehow he makes you feel so steady." This desire for steadiness and dependability in men and institutions is universal in civilized countries.

A child's sense of dependence and its attitudes of confidence and security in a good home constitute an important condition of healthful personality development. Although this sense of dependence is a child's attitude, nevertheless something of it should persist in adolescence and adult life. If it is not eradicated but transformed into a permanent attitude of confidence, security, and dependence on something higher—the Deity, some force that makes for righteousness and development, the orderly course of nature, an objective trust in scientific truth, or the like—it provides an anchor of health in many intolerable crises.

SURVIVALS OF INTELLECTUAL ATTITUDES

Although the intellectual attitudes and childish methods of thought that survive have only an indirect significance for hygiene, they may ultimately be gravely injurious both to the individual and to the social group. For illustration of these one may take the child's attitude of absolutism and lack of the power of dissociation.

The young child, as Piaget¹⁰ has shown, does not distinguish between the self and the external world. His

conceptions of reality are phenomenistic, and his ideas of weight, force, color, and the like are absolute. He is unable, for example, to dissociate volume from weight. Children, Piaget found, do not talk among themselves about their conceptions of nature; and yet he found in the towns where he was able to question children that nearly all of the same mental age had similar conceptions. "Nothing," he says, "is more striking in this respect than the very simple experiments that are completely removed from anything that the children can have been taught. Such is, for example, the experiment of the pebble placed in a glass of water, so as to make the level of the water rise: all the young children say that the water rises because the pebble is heavy, and all the older ones say that it rises because the pebble is big." (p. 291.) Whether a small pebble or a large pebble is put in the water, the young children will usually say, in either case, that the water rises because the pebble is heavy. They are quite unable to dissociate volume from weight.

Children at this first stage think that a small heavy body placed in the water will make the water rise more than a large body of less weight. Thus a little girl of nine, who had never been questioned on this subject, was about to put a bunch of flowers into a vase full of water. She was checked. "Take care, it will run over!" The child answered, "No, because it isn't heavy." To her mind the flowers, not being heavy, could enter the water without exercising pressure and without raising the level.

Sometimes the child's method of reasoning by transduction, its absolutism, its inability to dissociate ideas involved in the conception of an object, and its naïve innocence of logic, persist in adult life; and thus some individuals with complete sincerity are unable to avoid con-

traditions in their reasoning. In many of these persons, probably the cause of this fault is a lack of the social contact and social training that develop correct ideas of relativity and objective reasoning. Such survivals of the intellectual processes of childhood may be indirectly injurious to health, because they handicap an individual socially, and, by the contradictions and conflicts that arise, may be the cause of unhappy social relations, not to mention the injury to personality development.

OTHER SURVIVALS

These survivals have been discussed merely as illustrations. Plenty of other examples are closely related, such as teasing, the impulse to show off, calling attention to the self by all sorts of devices from playing pirates, Indians and burglars by the boys, and posing as actresses, great dames, women of vast wealth, queens, and the like by the girls; again the impulse to innumerable exhibitions of the ego and means of attracting attention to it, from writing one's name and initials on monuments, high places, points of public interest and the like by boys, to the whole repertoire of loud and bizarre ornamentation by girls, even to mice, lizards, and the like. Some adults are handicapped also by a survival of the tendency to perseveration common among children.

Such survivals of childish attitudes and the mental conflicts resulting from them make up largely the subject matter of mental hygiene. Any attempt to describe all of them would be too much like an encyclopedia of psychiatry, but those used above for illustration claim the attention of every student.

PITFALLS

Closely connected with the survivals of childish attitudes are certain pitfalls that add danger to the pathway of human development. Many of these have been pointed out or suggested in preceding pages. A few examples may be brought together here.

The distinction made for this discussion between survivals and pitfalls is that the former are attitudes helpful or injurious that persist from early childhood. The latter are injurious attitudes acquired in later life, frequently on the basis of survivals.

Mental Twists

When one recalls how easily in nervous people a tic or tremor or mannerism, perhaps a conditioned reflex, is developed, and how hard it is to remove such minor disorders when once established, it is not strange that more strictly mental associations of unfortunate character, unhealthful emotional reactions, and mental twists, are quite as easily formed, and can be removed with no less difficulty than the more strictly physical disorders. All of these, both the nervous and the mental twists, are so many pitfalls that hest the pathway of health in case of emotional people.

Suspicion

An attitude of suspicion is easily developed both in animals and in children. Professor Fullerton of the University of Pennsylvania was successful in training dogs; but one day, while training a dog, he threw morsels of food for the animal to catch in his mouth. In the course of the experiment he threw a pickle, food

abhorrent to dogs. The disgusted dog was spoiled by this one deception, and thereafter Fullerton could do nothing satisfactory with him. In children the suspicious attitude is naturally quite as readily established. Especially serious is the example of a suspicious attitude continually exhibited before children by parents and others. Those who are continually critical of their neighbors and acquaintances and speak about their suspicions before children are taking a pretty sure method of arousing this unwholesome attitude.

This attitude of suspicion toward one's companions is a serious pitfall to the mental health. Children who are unfortunate in their home life or in their early companions, especially children who acquire a sense of inferiority or the like, are very apt to be suspicious of their companions. Having a keen sense of their own defects and inability, it is easy for them to suspect that others take advantage of this and treat them unjustly. This attitude apparently is not one that naturally appears in early life, but comes as the result either of a sense of inferiority or of an unfortunate experience with parents or companions who have treated them unjustly. As soon as a child discovers that he has been deceived by a parent, teacher, or companion, at once the attitude of suspicion is likely to be aroused. When this occurs, especially in case of a bright child, the attitude is likely to grow, and a suspicion complex likely to be developed. This becomes far more serious as an injury to the child's mental health than the immediate effect of the injustice or deception which was the original cause. Once aroused, this attitude or complex is likely to be developed by the child's surroundings. Any misunderstanding or any failure to understand a situation between child and adult

may give occasion for the further development of suspicion, until some children, both in the home and the school, are in a condition of constant anxiety and fear lest they may be deceived and cheated; and the imagination of such conditions may become far worse than the reality.

In children who have acquired this suspicious attitude, the first thing a mental hygienist or new teacher can do is in some way to acquire a frank and straightforward understanding with the child on which more wholesome relations can be built up.

Suspicion is perhaps more injurious to health in adults than in children. Some adults correct their suspicions by reason. Some pride themselves on their ability to detect fraud and the fact that they never are cheated. In a world like this such cleverness is good, but it is dearly bought at the expense of inability to see virtue. Better for the mental health is the guileless charity that thinketh no evil than the sophistication that can see no innocence.

One's Own Past

Naturally of all pitfalls that beset human personality the worst is likely to be the influence of one's own past. High crimes and misdemeanors, although injurious, are not referred to here; but the attitudes and habits acquired are likely to become injurious. All our lives we have been digging these pitfalls and often they become more dangerous as our education and life experience continue. These are by no means limited merely to blunders and misconduct; they are often connected with the very things that have aided us in personality development, our tasks, definite aims, and high ideals. All

of them perhaps were good when first formed, but with increased development they should have been outgrown. They were good servants but have become bad masters. Thus it comes to pass that many people are enslaved by some relatively low objective, or by some method, or the like. Even the sequence of the method by which one works may acquire a sort of sacredness, and one can change neither one's method nor one's sequence of work to meet new conditions. Teachers sometimes cannot recognize that for some tasks many different methods are good, and the best for an individual pupil may be the one chosen by the individual, often something different from the teacher's method. Of most professional men and women it is true that their own past is a dangerous pitfall. As the poet Schiller expressed it, the eternal yesterday has influence to-morrow because it did to-day. Thus the old becomes sacred.

George Eliot has put this forcibly as follows:

Our deeds travel with us from afar;
And what we have been, makes us what we are.

Again, some persons, both children and adults, may be handicapped by some resolution formed, some minor task they have set themselves to do; and even, in some children, a definite formula of words or associated ideas must precede the doing of certain things. In psychological character they are like the superstitions that many people have, who, for example, if they spill salt, must throw some over the left shoulder; or in making certain statements about their own welfare or performance, must knock on wood; or any one of a thousand superstitious rites. Such ritualistic formulae acquired in a child's own experience may form serious pitfalls to healthful mental

development. They are familiar matters—child pledges, self-imposed tasks, secret rites, secret languages, a self-developed religion perhaps with its own ritual, as in case of the childhood of George Sand.² All these things may be innocent enough for the most part, but in emotional children may become pitfalls in the pathway of wholesome mature development.

The one safeguard is a course of education with such freedom for development and stimulus to growth that such minor handicaps are naturally left and forgotten in the pressure of wholesome activity. Here again the need of adaptation to new conditions and integration of the growing personality at higher and higher levels is emphasized.

The Perfection Pitfall

Of all the ways in which one may be handicapped by one's own past, by self-training and training from others, the most amazing perhaps is the way one's ideal of work may become an inhibition. Some teachers and other professional men and women, some students, and even some children, aim at perfection in their work and life. This, of course, is impossible, and the gulf between their ideals and their performance becomes a constant source of worry.

Teachers are perhaps as a class the most conscientious people in the world. They aim at doing everything in the best possible way, in discipline, in the performance of all school tasks, and in all the details of school life.

The result in their own work as well as in the work of their pupils is attention to a vast number of little details and meticulous care to have everything measure up to this ideal. Hence the victims of this perfection

pitfall are often seriously handicapped, and in school such teachers almost inevitably do too much for their pupils and rob them of their legitimate right to take responsibility as much as possible. In their own lives they are apt to lose perspective and often their sense of humor. Molehills become mountains. Growth is arrested and the personality disordered. What shall such persons do? Honor forbids that they should lower their standards, hygiene forbids such worry over minutiae. Here again the genetic point of view is helpful. One who acquires this gains the insight that growth implies imperfection; and the ideal of integration of the personality at higher and higher levels may well take the place of the aim of perfection according to a standardized rule that must inevitably be inadequate.

The Low Objective

Closely connected with the pitfall just mentioned is the pitfall of the low objective and the low ideal. Trained from childhood to choose good instead of evil, and praised when they have done so, with conscientious children the splendid ideal of always doing well and of sacrificing the had for the good is developed. The rewards of this in a clear conscience, good health, school promotion, and social esteem, give a well-earned satisfaction. Bright youth at adolescence, however, and all when they leave the scholastic environment for the school of the world, find a very different objective and a very different ideal prevail. They find that for success and for development, one must sacrifice the good for what is better—the good objective for a higher one, the good method for a better one, high standards for higher ones, petty economies for significant ones, and

even high ideals for higher ones. Everywhere a mature relativity replaces childhood's absolutism.

In the field of industry this is illustrated more concretely. One trained to wise economy in childhood must often learn to sacrifice paper, cloth, wood, pins, nails, string, and good machines for better ones, in order to save the golden minutes. Those who attain higher positions of control and leadership again learn to sacrifice important tasks for more important ones, and even their time, which is so precious, for the priceless value of health, sound nerves, and the ability to think clearly.

Direct Attack on Emotion

One subtle pitfall besets many people in relation to emotion. Some of the brightest and most conscientious children yield to this. It is the temptation to control emotion directly. Children are taught that they should be sympathetic to the poor, the sick, and the suffering. They are taught that they should respect the aged, that they should love, not merely the father and mother and other members of the family, but certain special relatives or friends perhaps. They are taught to give attention to certain things, whether they like them or not. They attempt conscientiously to follow such instruction and try to develop these emotions directly, or try to cast out the opposite emotions of dislike, distrust, and hatred. The attempt is apt to be futile. The children are naturally worried by their failure.

The result of such attempts to control dislike and to develop affection and the like is likely to be an unfortunate mental attitude, itself emotional. It is an uncanny feeling hard to describe. Some children may say that it makes them feel queer. In any case it is un-

fortunate and unwholesome. The children are sometimes sadly disturbed by their inability to regulate their emotions. One little girl exclaimed, "Oh, if I only did not have any feelings!"

In educational, social and hygienic matters, negative methods are usually poor methods. In hygiene they are sometimes necessary, but where a positive method can be substituted it is far better. Of all unwise negations the attempt at a negative emotional method is one of the most futile.

While doing the thing one is afraid to do is a specific remedy for fear, on the other hand the attempt to remove one's fears by direct attack on them is likely to increase them. A case reported to me by a former student seems to illustrate this.

A college girl had acquired the fear that she had swallowed a piece of clam shell. Examination by a physician indicated this was not true. The fear, however, persisted. The girl felt that nothing of the kind had happened, or if it had, that it was no longer true that the shell was present. Nevertheless she could not rid herself of this fear. It became an insistent idea. Naturally it was a serious distraction, but no efforts on her part and no remedies succeeded in removing it. Apparently this was a case where thinking of the matter and attempting directly to remove the fear had not only proved futile, but strengthened and increased it. In like manner any troublesome emotional reaction is liable to become a mental lesion as the result of direct efforts to control it instead of ignoring it.

Those who would control emotion do well to take an indirect method. If you would increase your love for your father, mother, or other member of the family, or

your friend, do something for them, and soon permanent affection will increase. So, in general, if you wish to change your feeling toward your friends or companions, let your emotions alone, but change your patterns of behavior toward them.

Intellect or Emotion.—To compare the unhygienic lapses we have figuratively called pitfalls is hardly worth while; but it may perhaps be said that the most common, the most dangerous to the healthful personality, the one most likely to involve all the others, is a sinister emotional response in an ordinary situation, trivial or significant, instead of a normal intellectual reaction. Here are included all the petty grievances of daily life, the stings of outraged nerves, and the more deep-seated responses of passion. All this is so commonplace that to speak of it is a platitude, but few things are so important for that normal mental metabolism that so largely conditions the wholesome personality.

Of course the obvious thing to say is that in all such cases the intellectual reaction should be substituted for the emotional response. This is true enough, but the matter is not so simple. The emotional response is more natural, more deep-seated, and likely to occur before the intellect can tighten the reins of control. Here, however, is the place for training. By long and careful self-training, one can quicken the intellectual process, until the fitting reaction occurs before the emotional, and finally the normal thought or deed supplants the emotion. When things go ill the man hygienically trained plans the fitting thing to do before he gratifies his emotional urge to blame some one else for what has happened. Although the task is harder, he does the

same when the unfortunate situation is due to accident or his own blunder.

Familiarity

One other pitfall, the attitude of familiarity toward opinion, is especially dangerous to the student of hygiene. As soon as we have heard an opinion often repeated, we are pretty sure to believe it, at least in part. In hygiene a vast number of theories and doctrines have been handed down from the past; and others, without scientific foundation, or based perhaps on experiment but without verification, have become current from newspapers and popular sources. As soon as such theories have been repeated often enough they are usually believed.

This attitude of believing familiar opinion is dangerous to healthful mental development, whether in scientific hygiene or in matters of everyday thought and action. Few men do much real thinking. Most beliefs are based rather on familiarity. No more striking example of this has occurred in recent years than the propaganda that occurred during the World War. Viereck,¹³ in his remarkable book, *Spreading Germs of Hate*, has given from his own experience and knowledge a large number of cases. The method of propaganda is precisely this method of repeating a thing frequently, since many people will believe the statements made as soon as they become familiar enough.

A Paradox.—Here again we meet one of the strange paradoxes in human psychology. When an idea or theory has been often repeated and becomes familiar, we are apt to believe it. Then, as belief, it becomes vital and a condition of emotion, warm with human feeling,

and a stimulus to activity. Then on the other hand, as we have already seen, such emotional experiences are dulled by repetition. When they become familiar they are deadened and lose their strength as stimuli to action. In the war many soldiers believed false stories about the enemy, because they heard them often repeated, and their emotions were aroused. The same soldiers often met the same enemy in battle again and again and their emotion of fear was dulled by the repetition.

The Power of Words.—Nowhere perhaps more than in education and hygiene are people governed by the words used and misled more by the use of wrong terms. This is an alluring pitfall. The history of pedagogical terminology is rich in illustrations. "Harmonious education," "cultural value," "general training," even "knowledge" itself are so many examples. In hygiene "health foods," "health systems," and the like, are attractive terms.

In school hygiene take, for example, the word schoolhouse. Everybody knows what a schoolhouse is, and every one is more or less familiar with the wider and higher connotation of the term. The little red schoolhouse rightly has a halo about it, and the associations with the word are sacred. Did not our great men study and teach in this schoolhouse, and were not worthy citizens trained there? Rightly this has become the symbol of the public education that is the bulwark of the republic. This conception of the schoolhouse expressed the older conception of education, and its sacred associations should be preserved.

While, however, this word had its advantages and still is significant, it has also been, and often remains, a misleading term; for our new experience based upon our wider knowledge of the meaning of education and the

importance of hygiene have modified our conception of the work of the school. As we see clearly to-day, the school is a place for doing things and the schoolhouse is a workshop. Hence the fundamental principle governing the construction and arrangement of schoolhouses is that of making the conditions the best possible for the work to be done in them. This is brain work, but as everybody knows, is largely done with the eye and the hand; and hence the conditions of lighting and the methods of instruction and the tools used, reading books, maps, material for drawing, writing, and the like, should be the best possible for the functioning of the eye and hand.

Whenever a new schoolhouse is built in the city, the old view that first of all it should be a piece of architecture has so great an influence that an architect of public buildings rather than a special school architect is still apt to be the one employed. The result is too often a building with serious defects from the sanitary point of view and a conflict between the hygienist and the architect. In the past often the architect won out, and so even many of the so-called good schoolhouses in our cities are seriously defective from a sanitary and hygienic point of view.

In recent years a million schoolhouses have been built in this country and certain norms for lighting have been established, so that to-day the proper illumination of the schoolroom is not a matter of guesswork.

A Concrete Illustration.—Within the last few years the state of New Hampshire has begun a movement for remodeling the old rural schoolhouses and supplying them with adequate means of illumination and hygienic arrangement of the seats and desks. Naturally enough.

the movement has met with criticism and opposition in some rural districts. Everywhere in country towns people know what a schoolhouse is, and the old conception of it with its sacred associations fortunately survives. Where the new conception of the schoolhouse as a workshop has not been made clear, it is not strange that opposition to remodeling occurs. A more striking illustration of the erroneous ideas and inability to see the need of improvement could hardly be given. Naturally when the work of rearrangement began many could see no reason why a good schoolhouse of conventional type should be remodeled to make the light come chiefly from one side; and yet as soon as one gains the modern conception of the school as a workshop the need of making the conditions the best possible for the work to be done in it becomes clear.

Emotional Waste of Energy

One of the most dangerous pitfalls is an emotional one. Although we know little about the emotions, they are, as every one recognizes, tremendously important for the individual and the social health. A few facts we do know. As already noted (Chapter II), the emotions are the condition and stimulus of action. They sometimes represent, as Claparède has pointed out, the breaking down of action. Also they are conditions producing energy, dynamogenic. This is generally recognized. The old New Hampshire farmer expressed it by saying, "When I am mad I can lift a ton."

Obviously with this dynamogenic function of emotions so easily evoked, they often become the condition of great waste of energy. This energy, however, may in

part be utilized in mental activity, increasing the power of attention, clarifying one's thought, and making one's action more efficient.

Illustrations of the dynamogenic function of emotion have been given by Piéron¹¹ of the University of Paris from his studies of crustaceans, insects, etc. If a crab is tied by one claw to a stake and given no food, it remains there until it dies. If, however, a poulp, the most dangerous of its enemies, is released near it, the crab amputates its claw and escapes. Apparently the great shock of fear releases such an amount of energy that this accounts for the increased efficiency of the crab in executing means of escape. In like manner the stag, pursued by wolves, is able to run faster on account of the increased energy generated by the fear. (p. 286.) Similar examples of the increased attention and efficiency are shown in man. The surplus energy discharged in extreme emotion seems to be usually wasted if not actually injurious.

Piéron summarizes his view of what may be called the economy of emotion briefly as follows: Emotion may be described as an extreme level of feeling tending toward the pathological as a limit. It consists essentially in an abnormal discharge of energy, a discharge that exceeds the amount that can be used for normal reactions and that occurs even when there is no occasion for reaction. Consequently it involves a diffusion of excitatory impulses into the viscera, which on the whole seems to be useless and harmful and even pathological, adding its own ill effects to the nervous exhaustion that results from the excessive expenditure of discharged energy.

The expressions of emotion are found only in the

higher animals, whose associative nervous centers are well developed. In the hymenoptera, the cephalopoda, and at least the higher vertebrata we find the characteristic expressions of emotion, which take the form of agitation, cutaneous, cardio-vascular, and visceral manifestations. It is probable that these centers contribute a reserve of nervous energy, releasable under the influence of intense affective shock, and that the sudden expenditure of this energy brings about the overflow into motor and visceral organs. In man when the susceptibility to emotion is high enough, so that there is strong power of affective mobilization, and a high degree of instability in the reserves of energy, "the cortical reservoir seems to constitute a real danger, just as do large ponds established along a water course, which accumulate the available energy and may cause disastrous inundations if the barriers begin to give way before a sudden onslaught." (p. 294.)

Conceit

Plenty of other pitfalls beset the pathway of healthful personality development. The student of hygiene does well who foresees them and studies them. One of these is so dangerous to learning as well as to health that again and again it has been referred to in these pages, namely, the conceit of knowledge, which inhibits the ability to learn. In hygiene, as well as in other subjects, this is a danger often besetting many promising students. Having learned a portion of the truth, forthwith they think they know, and hence learn no more. Thus the whole history of hygiene has presented a pathway of intermittent progress strewn with the fragments of exploded theories, due to partial truth unverified and

the arrest of the individual student's development at some imperfect stage of discovery.

Some of the more obvious pitfalls, like unconscious prejudices, unconscious mental conflicts, fears of various kinds, and the like, have been discussed in preceding chapters. The reader can recall others. Some that are not so obvious have been given for illustration here.

A Handicap of Hygiene

One pitfall is inherent in the character of hygiene itself. That hygiene always means prevention is likely to be forgotten by most people. For prevention we have not time, and to children and adolescents this is not only a slow but a drab and fussy, sometimes abhorrent, attitude. To suggest prevention to the adolescent may reflect on his sensitive ego; it suggests that he is not capable of taking care of himself. This, above all things, boys and girls at this period resent. At the best the hygienist is liable to appear as a killjoy and an intruder upon the self-regarding complacency of youth.

Even in later life people generally, both medical and lay, have such a dominant interest in cure, and the results of successful treatment are so spectacular, that the indefinite and prosaic aspects of prevention pale before the wonders of therapeutics.

This handicap of hygiene may be largely averted by beginning the study of personal hygiene in connection with the youth's own interest in self-development and the desire for success and the ability to achieve. Thus Emerson's method of studying personal hygiene, by beginning with health diagnosis and the objective study of self, has proved a wise flank attack.

After a permanent interest in personal hygiene,

somatic and mental, has been developed, it is not far to a permanent interest in the general subject of hygiene and the conditions of public health.

SUMMARY

1. Of the many injurious survivals of childish attitudes we have taken for illustration jealousy, the attitude of blame, and extreme sensitiveness, which is usually a fear of blame.

2. The attitude of dependence upon parents is injurious when it survives in adult life; but it is healthful when it develops into a sense of confidence and dependence on the Deity, on the orderliness and sanity of the universe, or the like.

3. Of healthful childish attitudes that should be preserved in later life, we took as illustration attention and the straightforward reactions of children and absence of artificial defense mechanisms.

4. Of intellectual survivals that may be indirectly injurious to health, the child's absolutism and inability to dissociate ideas are illustrations.

5. The child's inability to unlearn at an early stage of development is an unfortunate attitude when it persists in later life; in extreme form it is a mark of arrested development often found in the feeble-minded.

6. Besides the dangerous pitfalls to healthful personality development mentioned in earlier chapters, among additional illustrations selected are suspicion, conceit, slavery to one's own past, and errors produced by undue influence of familiar words and phrases; in education, for example, such terms as "harmonious development," "cultural value," "health foods," and the like.

7. For such survivals and pitfalls the simple remedy

of pointing out the fact of their existence is frequently sufficient.

8. Where a more powerful remedy is necessary, nothing is so valuable as devotion to an all-absorbing task and integration of the personality at a high level of intelligence.

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CHAPTER XII

THE PROBLEM OF FAILURE

Success in the psychological sense is an essential condition of mental health. Leavitt¹¹ has shown its biological significance and the rôle it plays in animal behavior. In the normal it begins in the cradle and lasts until the game of life is ended. It is especially important for healthful development in preschool life and during the whole period of scholastic training.

The aim of education, although often obscured, is the hygienic aim emphasized in this book, the development in each child of a wholesome, integrated personality. The simple tasks in the well regulated home favor the growth of the wholesome personality. The ordinary work in the well organized school is distinctly helpful to the mental health. It develops those habits of attention, orderly association, self-control, and the like, fundamental to the preservation and development of the personality. On the other hand, we should admit frankly the dangers connected with school work. The obvious hygienic advantages do not altogether prevent injury to health by certain unhygienic conditions.

If we go into the schools we find that one of the most outstanding defects is the appalling number of failures reported from all grades, roughly perhaps a third who fail at least to the extent of retardation for one year; and a half apparently who fail in the sense that they never win any marked success. Why is this?

If it were necessary, it would be easy to show that besides the faults of us who are teachers, many common conditions tend to produce failure—the lack of a thorough health examination, physical and mental, at school entrance, no adequate grading, lack of freedom for the teacher, and the like. It is sufficient to note a few things.

The general causes of these failures are many,* some of them administrative, some psychological, some due to unhygienic conditions. Although much could be done to remedy these conditions by executive and pedagogical reforms, by better coöperation of the home and the school, the greatest hope of immediate improvement lies in the teacher's own efforts. Like all other school reforms, mental hygiene reform is primarily schoolmaster reform. In this, however, the teachers face perhaps their greatest and most difficult problem.

HYGIENIC AIDS IN THE CLASSROOM

It is a great thing to have an institution like the school whose special function is to develop wholesome personalities; but it is a strange condition when from a third to a half of the children in the schools fail. One need not dwell on the effects of constant failure on the mental health. All know its disintegrating effects from personal experience. The retardation of a third of the pupils is a wholesale tragedy. The money loss of repeaters is a serious matter; but the loss in human values is far more serious. For many it means humiliation day after day and week after week, domestic disappointment, and a sense of inferiority in the individual pupils. Hygiene means prevention. How can these fail-

* See *The Normal Mind*, Ch. xv.

ures be prevented? This is the problem. Difficult as it is, teachers are ready to attack it. What aids can be given them by the teachings of mental hygiene? Among the most important are those mentioned below:

1. *First Aid*

It helps the teacher greatly if he realizes the vital importance of success for healthful development. The message of mental hygiene here, like all the fundamental teachings of hygiene, is very simple. The teacher's function is to give every child the opportunity for a fitting task; and it is the business of the teacher not only to perform this function every day, but in some way, at some time, in some subject, to give every child the stimulus of a distinct success.

It helps the teacher, if one understands clearly that to solve this problem of success for the individual pupil is a prime duty, for the neglect of which no pressure of conventional demands is an excuse, and that for one's own failure in this no other professional success can atone. For a conscientious person to see clearly a duty is first aid to performance.

2. *The Aid of Mental Hygiene*

It helps if the teacher gets the point of view and methods of genetic psychology and mental hygiene. For years teachers have persistently and courageously attacked this problem; but in their attempts to remedy the evil the schools have made relatively little progress. The number of children who fail is apparently about as great as it was twenty years ago. The most outstanding result of this long period of study and effort has been merely an alibi, to show a plausible excuse for the

large percentage of failure. We are told that it is due to the dullness and lack of intelligence among the pupils. The schools are asked to do the impossible; the gods themselves fight in vain against stupidity. To-day, however, teachers know the difference between dodging a problem and solving it. They are not hunting for an alibi, however good. They wish to know how to take the pupils as they are, dull and bright, and develop in them wholesome integrated personalities at as high a level as their intelligence permits. But hitherto the attempt to remedy this evil by direct frontal attack, by scholastic methods, has been largely futile. It will help the teacher immensely, instead of this direct attack, or at least to supplement it, to make an indirect flank attack by the methods of hygiene.

The difference between the two is profound. Pedagogy tries to stimulate the growth of personality by the teacher's instruction and discipline, hygiene by the child's learning and self-direction. The ordinary traditionally trained teacher may become so absorbed in teaching there is not time for the child's own learning.

3. *The Aid of Psychology*

It helps the teacher to have a clear knowledge of the psychology of success, to understand what real success is. This psychological knowledge of success saves the teacher from pitfalls that lead to grievous blunders. It shows that no school product, no mark or grade, not even the approval of parent or teacher, is a reliable gauge of real success; for it depends, not on the size or difficulty of the pupil's performance, according to conventional standards, but upon a mental process—in simplest terms, the matching of the child's own mental

image with reality, of the child's own purpose with fulfillment. Thus it becomes a matter of daily activity in the doing of little tasks as well as a matter of the greater tasks of the home and the school.

4. *The Child's Task*

It helps the teacher profoundly to see in its full significance that the great method and the only sound method of giving a child success, a method as old as the Hebrew Scriptures and as new as the latest teachings of mental hygiene, is by giving an opportunity for a worth while task and freedom to do it in the child's own way.

In education we have at least learned one thing, namely, that it is only by actual doing by the pupil himself, not by talk or instruction by parent or teacher, that development comes. This is the burden of the modern methods. The Montessori system, the Dalton plan, the project method, the Decroly class, and the like, are all so many modern devices for applying the doctrine of the great Comenius, who made the child's own learning the keynote of his *Great Didactic*. The contribution of mental hygiene has been to show that all this so important for sound scholarship is equally important for the mental health.

5. *The Value of Failure*

It helps the teacher if one sees in right perspective the value of failure. Although the first thing, as already noted, is for the teacher to give each pupil the stimulus of success, in some cases of extreme hypertrophy of the ego, and where the child's personality is poisoned by conceit, nothing seems to be so good as the antitoxin of

failure. It should be noted, however, that failure is a remedy rather than a preventive. Its right application is an individual problem and a very complex one. If there were more successful doing of significant tasks, there would be less of the toxin of conceit and less need of the somewhat dangerous remedy of failure.

Most important of all is rightly to use failure in the development of the personality. Failure occurs when an individual attempts something beyond the limits of his own strength and ability, or when some essential condition of success is neglected. Thus it becomes important that the child should learn something of the limitations in the game of life, something about the laws of possibility and impossibility, a lesson largely learned by nature's teaching in the early years of life if a child is wholesomely let alone to make his own contacts with a natural healthful environment. The rôle of failure is to show the limitations of one's power.

Ferenczi,⁸ in a most instructive address in London, has given a concrete example of the way a child whose ego has grown too rapidly may be taught the necessary limitations of power. This child was a nephew of his own, to whom he had behaved mildly, as a psychoanalyst should, and he recounts the boy's behavior and experience as follows:

He took advantage of this and began to tease me, then wanted to beat me and then to tease and beat me all the time. Psychoanalysis did not teach me to let him beat me *ad infinitum*, so I took him in my arms, holding him so that he was powerless to move, and said, "Now beat me if you can." He tried, could not, called me names, said that he hated me—I replied, "All right, go on, you may feel these things and say these things, but you must not beat me." In the end he real-

ized my advantage in strength and his equality in phantasy, and we became good friends. [p. 13.]

Of course one's power of accomplishment may be indefinitely extended by practice and right training; and the teaching should be that the bounds of success are indefinite, but that certain inexorable limitations exist. For some children the danger connected with success is that they become unable to see nature's barriers of impossibility. They not only desire the moon but they try hard to get it.

The extreme form of this is illustrated in the lines of the satirist:

Why can I not look in my ear with my eye?
If I set myself to it,
I know I can do it.
You never can tell till you try.

The survival of this childish attitude we meet in those impossible reformers whom neither common sense nor the laws of nature and of science can control when pushing their own fads.

Children may well be trained to see that failure furnishes opportunity. It helps one to see one's mistakes and to see how another time greater care and better preparation can be made; and it is well if the deeper significance of one's activity can be seen and if a sportsmanlike spirit can be developed. Real success in the psychological sense may come without the attainment of one's ultimate aim. The fun is in the game itself. Many things are worth doing for the mere sake of the doing. Thus all the heroes of defeat in a deeper sense have been successful, because to them the fight was worth while.

This psychological attitude is hard to achieve. Some of these heroes, however, have attained it. Failure for them means the opportunity to try again; or more accurately, to change the figure, to those who gain the artist spirit and who find their wages in their work, there is no failure except inability to do, and no defeat except inability to fight. Although this may be called Utopian, nevertheless even children can acquire in some degree a sportsmanlike attitude; and many of them have naturally the artist spirit until by our interference we repress it.

6. *Competition*

A great aid employed by teachers for centuries is competition. As it is the method commonly used in the schools, and appeal is largely made to rivalry, something should be said about this. It is a world-old method, and rivalry is a race-old impulse. Competition, as Lowrey has suggested, brings out differences in personality and by contrast may develop the sense of inferiority. The very fact that this impulse goes so far back in race history makes it unnecessary to stimulate it in the schools. It is likely to be sufficiently developed in any case; but its normal supplement, coöperation, should be cultivated. And in a normal democratic group, as in the amateur baseball team, a wholesale emphasis is placed on the value of difference; for in such a group the value of the individual contribution to the group performance is largely due to the very fact that it is different from that of the others.

In such group competition also success is not personal but group success; and the superior special ability of the individual player wins success only because sup-

ported by the group. It is significant because it makes possible an important contribution to the group effort. Here too, personal success must always be sacrificed to group success. Some years ago when Pep Young in a baseball game sacrificed the opportunity to gain applause and fame by making a triple play, and for the sake of his team played safe, he merely did in an unusual situation what every member of a good team is trained to do at all times, sacrificed individual success for group success. Thus as soon as practical it seems wise to substitute group rivalry for individual rivalry, a method that has long been used by a few great teachers.

7. Knowledge of One's Faults

It helps the teacher greatly if he can take an objective view of his own faults and overcome his professional sensitiveness.

One common fault strikes so at the very heart of all success in children that I confess it with humiliation and professional shame. If mental hygiene is right that the greatest thing a teacher can do for a child is to give opportunity for a worth while task, then from the point of view of health, to rob a child of his task is the greatest pedagogical blunder. This is common, however, even among the best and most conscientious teachers. It helps such teachers immensely if they can see the concrete ways in which in their own work they do this. It helps also to see the way parents do the same before children come to the school.

It would be pleasant to speak of the splendid things the best parents do for their children. This, however, is well known. The ungracious task of mentioning faults is more important here. One must be strangely

unfamiliar with the American home not to know how common is the practice of robbing children of their tasks; more concretely, how frequently one parent or the other blocks a child in whatever he undertakes to do or say, does the task or says the obvious thing just before the child was about to do it himself, takes the story out of the child's mouth while he is telling it, or corrects some petty inaccuracy. Thus are often developed in the child's mind attitudes of humiliation or of antagonism. How often such attitudes arise we do not imagine; for the child soon learns the futility of attempting anything himself and says "What's the use?" But the mental attitude of chagrin or antagonism is likely to be aroused at each balked opportunity.

How commonly and how unconsciously parents interfere with their children and rob them of their legitimate tasks in the early years seems almost incredible. Science avoids teleological explanations. Were it not so, it might seem that nature makes children egocentric for the first seven or eight years of life in order to protect them from their parents. At a little later stage, even with highly intelligent parents, this foolish attempt to guide and dominate them extends not merely to obvious behavior but often to the thoughts and intents of the heart.

"What are you going to think about to-night?" says the careful parent when he bids his child good night. "I want you to read a little in one of your books and think about it." "What are your plans for to-day?" asks the mother in the morning. "What are you going to say to so and so when you see him?" "What lessons are you going to work on in your study period to-day?" And again at night a stream of questions and perhaps

even a mild practice of the third degree occurs in retrospect. "What have been the high spots in your work to-day?" "What mistakes did you make?" "What kind of a recitation did you have in your arithmetic?" "What did you think about in your spare minutes?" A little of this is all right, but such a stream of admonitions and suggestions is apt to rob the child of the opportunity for self-activity and normal responsibility. The continuance of this day after day, week after week, and year after year deadens initiative, and in some children is likely to lay the foundation for some of the worst mental attitudes and faults of the careworn and conscientious New Englander. Teachers likewise overdo this matter of guidance, although in a different way.

Is it not, however, the teacher's business to help and to guide and control and correct and blame? The conscientious teacher feels this duty of helping the child so keenly that with some it becomes an uncontrollable habit, but what is meant for help is apt to become inhibition and injury to wholesome development. Even in the kindergarten this may be so. Its characteristic as a place of doing has been its great glory. The fundamental principle in the kindergarten is to give each child the opportunity for a suitable task. Here, I should be inclined to say, is the one place where the fault of robbing children of their tasks does not occur, were it not that kindergarteners themselves recognize how common it is; and a few years ago a committee of the International Kindergarten Union gave special warning against it.

If we go into the grade schools, we find equally serious examples of such unwise helpfulness. Of course it is seldom done openly and flagrantly, but like other forms of theft in society, is subtle and often unconscious. The

very character of the methods employed in most schools illustrates this. In many schools the emphasis still is on instruction rather than training, the teacher's talk rather than the child's doing. It is described aptly in words quoted by Kilpatrick,¹⁰ from a child, a three-year-old youngster, who "having as a privileged guest enjoyed a modern kindergarten, desired when the family moved away to attend similarly the village school. One visit, however, sufficed. Being asked why he would go no more, he replied with an insight almost uncanny, 'It's a listening school. I don't like it.'" (p. 298.)

Illustrations are found in all grades. One or two will suffice.

A kindergarten child reported at home that he was making an elephant as a present for his sister. A few days passed and his teacher helpfully improved the crude pasteboard object the boy had called an elephant. Hearing no more about the animal gift, after a few days the mother asked the boy about it. He replied, "'Tain't mine, teacher made it."

In the large more definite and more creative tasks of the child, this sense of ownership and feeling that something is a part of oneself may become quite intense, and in a child's creative activity may equal the artist's sense of possession in his own work. Naturally the more absorbed the child is in his task, and the more of the artist's spirit he has, the more he resents the teacher's interference. This is admirably illustrated in one of Patri's examples, a girl who was at work busily in the drawing class. One day this pupil started a design on her drawing sheet. This bit of work seemingly had nothing to do with the lesson. The drawing teacher frowned, looked again, seized the pencil and began altering the drawing.

When she had it to suit her, she smiled and said, "Very good, but you must keep to the lesson. Get your cube in perspective finished now like a good girl."

The good child looked after her, a queer expression in her eyes. Quickly she sketched the lesson cube, took another sheet and started her design once more. If she saw the teacher coming, she slipped the cube over the design and waited. When the danger seemed passed, she went to work again. Then, like an artist, she forgot. She forgot everything but this idea that was growing under her pencil.

"I told you to do your cube," said the teacher. "What is this you are doing? Oh, the design. I showed you how to work that out. Why don't you follow me? Here, I will show you again," and she began on the child's work once more.

"Don't touch that! Don't dare to touch that, you old fool! Keep your hands off my work."

Well, the classroom was tensely silent. The teacher and the storming child looked at each other. Now this was a really good teacher; only in the pressure of the classroom situation did the didactic habit come up for a moment, but now she recognized her mistake and was big enough to confess it.

"I am sorry," she said, "I thought I was helping you. Now I know I wasn't. I ought not to have touched your work. Tell me what it is you are making."

That brought a storm of tears from the little artist, a sigh of relief and a flutter of applause from the class.

Failure in the First Grade.—Such failures, at least in many places, are most common in the first grade. It sometimes happens that 50 per cent of the children in the first years of school life are reported as failures.

What this really means arouses one's wonder, for conditions that make half the beginners in school failures must be artificial in the extreme. Something must be definitely wrong. A superintendent in one place reported, apparently with some degree of scholastic pride, that half of the pupils in his schools failed in the first year. When anything of this kind occurs, the probe, for which we are accustomed to clamor, should be of the teachers more than of the pupils. Even with a large percentage of dull and defective children the business of the school is to give beginners tasks they can perform with at least a stimulating degree of success.

Since failures in the first grade are likely to occur, it is well to know that experiments tried in the public schools at Rochester, New York, have shown that with the method employed there, of slow moving classes for backward children, the percentage of failures has been reduced almost to zero, and the stimulus of success in the first year of school work obtained for the children.

All through the grades of the public school, however, even in the high schools, a large percentage of failure occurs; and as the writer has elsewhere pointed out,* many conditions in the public school tend to make this result inevitable.

How widespread failure is in the lower grades few realize. Concrete facts like the following emphasize this: A recent number of the *Union Teacher* reports 100,000 backward school children in the elementary grades in New York City for the year 1927-28, and asserts that the result of the emotional maladjustment caused by their attempt to do work beyond their capacity has resulted in emotional maladjustment, feelings of inferiority, and the

* *The Normal Mind*, p. 451.

like. Such conditions emphasize the need of special classes for retarded children and a suitable task adjusted to the individual pupil in all grades of the school.

It is perhaps even worse in the higher grades and in the high schools. A score of conditions tend to deprive the pupil of his rightful task, and in many recitations there is a running fire of suggestion and correction; from beginning to end the teacher rather than the pupil largely does the work and gives the answers. It is hardly necessary to speak of the training schools and colleges. Many of the latter, however, with the custom of lectures, or at least the frequent domination of discussion and work by masterful teachers, are also listening schools.

The most subtle method of robbing pupils is by some word or action that changes the learning attitude to one of fear or insecurity, or some other mental attitude that inhibits efficient doing. To recount the ways in which this is done would be a long story. Among the most serious faults we have are haste and blame. Even in schools where no special exercises in speed are given, a tendency to haste is likely to be found. As soon as this attitude is acquired by the children, the occasions of failure are likely to be increased. (Chapter VIII.)

Teachers Who Blame.—As members of the teaching profession we do well to consider once more in relation to failure this childish survival of blaming people. Naturally we feel it is our duty to criticize pupils when they blunder or are remiss. In the training schools we have critic teachers, and every teacher soon becomes a critic. With the natural impulse to blame others that all of us seem to have, as teachers we may overdo this function; and quite apart from the question of the effect of this habit of blaming upon the children, the result of it is

liable to be bad in its effect on the teacher's own character. In the interest of health the attitude so far as possible may well be that of the teacher of the feeble-minded, who makes it a rule never to blame the children. An old friend, an acute observer of human nature, once told me that she could pick out members of the teaching profession because the teacher always looks upon a person as some one to be corrected or criticized.

Whether this be a professional characteristic or not, unfortunately many others have the same habit. A strong defense for blame can easily be made. We ourselves, of course, blame fairly and justly; such blame and criticism is a helpful tonic. To be critical, in fact, is the mark of higher culture and a higher social level; and criticism is needed in every industrial and social group. So far as my personal observation goes, however, in every occupation there is now an overproduction of this useful commodity. (Chapter XI.)

8. *Preventive Discipline*

Mental hygiene helps also in the problem of success by its teaching in regard to discipline! It helps one to find the cause of the misbehavior and to remove that. Of course some cases are incorrigible; but these are few and when found a competent psychiatrist should be consulted. The problem of determining the cause is likely to be an interesting one. It becomes a human problem, like that of the psychiatrist in remedying mental twists and disorders. Thus with the study of children at the Worcester Normal School under the genius who was a former principal of the school, E. H. Russell, the immature teachers who went out often reported that the disorderly boy or girl was the especially interesting one.

Largely mental hygiene has changed the unruly pupil into a problem of special interest. For the most part all that is needed is preventive discipline.*

Here the contrast with the past is instructive. In discipline, the older education, whether in the homes or the schools or society, was often not merely unhygienic but amazingly stupid. It is by no means necessary to go back to the Middle Ages when the rod was the symbol of the schoolmaster's function. The last century furnishes examples enough. Less than a hundred years ago a boy in London was hanged for stealing a few pounds of vegetables from the grocer, and another was sentenced with the same punishment for stealing a few pennyworth of paint. Child convicts of the last century were condemned in London to work in the chain gang and were guarded by keepers with shotguns.

The discipline of the schools was equally stupid. Its character is familiar from the examples given by Dickens and other writers. And in the homes, as illustrated by Butler in his famous hook, it was sometimes equally bad. In this country a hundred years ago punishment of children was deemed necessary for the salvation of their souls and emphasized in addresses before the American Institute of Instruction and the like. In the words of Butler,* "All was done in love, anxiety, timidity, stupidity, and impatience." With such discipline in the homes and in the schools, what difference could be expected in society? "He that is stupid in little will be stupid also in much."

In the whole matter of discipline the genetic point of view has given aid of the first importance, for it shows that for the most part the misbehavior and faults of

* *The Normal Mind*, Chap. xvii.

children are even at the worst merely psychoses of development that will be outgrown with a favorable environment. Thus genetic psychology and mental hygiene have revolutionized discipline, so that to-day the aim is the discovery of the cause of misconduct and the emphasis on preventive discipline. This attitude on the part of teachers, even when the aim is not completely attained, saves many failures. Again, the orderly activity required by the discipline of the school is helpful. In itself it is a form of success.

Compensation.—Again, the mental hygiene of discipline shows the need of finding out the causal condition of compensatory misconduct. Not only do adults, by helping too much, deprive a child of an essential condition of development; but the unfortunate child is apt to substitute for the legitimate and healthful activity of doing his own task, another form of activity, often injurious, by way of compensation. To make compensation is a natural and universal impulse. This will be clear to every one who reflects. All of us have had experience of it. If you sprain your right hand, you compensate for the injury by using your left hand. If one eye is blind, you use the other more widely. If one ear is deaf you compensate by listening intently with the other. If you have a valvular heart trouble, you compensate for the leak by a stronger contraction of the heart muscle. In the mental field defects and deprivations are compensated also, often in an abnormal manner.

One of the most common means of compensation for deprivations and trials and abuses of every kind in the child is daydreaming. In the world of phantasy the child can, as Richter suggested, restore the garden of Eden and transmute all poverty and neglect into wealth and affec-

tion. As a matter of fact, children do this in all kinds of ways, sometimes healthfully, often injuriously.

Still more common perhaps is defense and compensation by blaming somebody or something. As soon as a child, for example, has a continued experience of failure in school work, or even a single extreme failure, he is likely either to give up in despair, or, what is more common, to develop some defensive mechanism to protect himself. The most common defense in the school perhaps is to put the blame on some one else, the lessons are too hard, the examination unfair, the teacher unjust, or perhaps the father, or some member of the family, or even some companion, may have queered the pupil, so that he could not succeed. Some one, in any case, is to blame. In the bright children, daydreaming, illness, and a large number of devices give the desired compensation or defense.

Where normal opportunity for the expression of emotion is denied, compensation in misconduct often occurs. A good example is that of a boy known by the writer years ago. He had been well behaved and had repressed his feelings, not so much because he was lacking in the normal impulses of boys for adventure, but rather, I take it, because the father was a hard and stony disciplinarian. On one occasion, when the latter was away, the boy visited his grandmother; and then, with his father twenty miles away, he took the opportunity to express himself by tearing off the wallpaper in the kitchen. Seeing him, his grandmother called out, "What are you doing?" "It is sometimes nice to be naughty, grandma," replied the boy. She at once recognized the compensatory character of his misbehavior, and her tongue was palsied. She said nothing. This is apparently a typical case, but it is well

when such compensations do not occur outside the walls of grandmother's kitchen. The significance of such a fault lies in the compensation thereof; and the wise disciplinarian will adjust the punishment to the condition that causes the compensation.

9. *The Study of Personality*

One more help for teachers should be mentioned. The study of human personality helps teachers immensely. The greatness of their opportunity can hardly be emphasized too much. It means a study of what Smuts¹⁴ has called the highest and completest of all wholes and one that in its unity, as in its complexity, constitutes the great riddle of the universe. "Best known of all subjects of knowledge and experience, nearest to us in all kinships and relationships, our very foundation and constitution, self of our very selves, it is yet the great mystery, the most elusive phantom in the whole range of emotions." (p. 263.) The child's personality is unique, the highest and latest product of evolution. The study of one's own pupils helps greatly.

Such study of child personality shows in the first place the wide range of individual variation, gives a first-hand acquaintance with some of the so-called types, like the pyknic and asthenic, introspective and extraspective, the various modality types, and the eidetic types, with their influence upon the developing personality. This in itself is likely to be a revelation to the teacher; for, as Galton found in his pioneer studies, it is very difficult for one individual to realize that another may think, for example, in images very different from one's own. It is also hard to learn how greatly a child's thinking differs from our own. The interest and respect for human per-

sonality thus acquired, however, would at once save the teacher from many pitfalls, dignify the teacher's own task, and magnify the teaching profession.

A Method of Observation.—In a teacher's observation of the personality of his pupils a simple technique is helpful and makes the work more interesting. For a single example, a method devised by Olson¹² of the University of Minnesota may be given. His method consists in measuring nervous habits that yield a quantitative score of determinable reliability for each individual. The unit of measurement is one or more specified overt reactions per stated unit of time, one or more oral habits per five-minute period, for example, sucking the fingers, biting the nails, protruding the tongue, or the like. The assumption is that a child who shows a given reaction in each of a stated number of successive observations is more fixed in that mode of behavior than a child who gives fewer reactions or none at all.

This problem of nervous habits is the problem of every child, like weight, height, and educational achievement. The observation is concerned with the normality of these habits. They are not necessarily abnormal. This method also can be used in the study of any observable trait and it is thought that certain traits of personality that the mental measurements have not succeeded in measuring by the usual test methods may yield to this method of approach. With variations the technique is apparently applicable to a wide range of problems such as attention, conduct disorders, talkativeness, neatness, and the like.

The reliability of this method has been studied in application to various groups of habits and to various populations. Oral scores based on twenty observations yield a high coefficient of reliability, about .87 for elementary-

school children; and the validity of oral scores as a more general measure of nervous habits as indicated by a coefficient of correlation of .77.

Order and Success.—We are apt to take a narrow view of success and to speak lightly of its significance. If, however, we take the psychological point of view and realize that the essential thing in success is the matching of an image with reality, or the objectification of a purpose in fulfillment, then we see why it is vitally important in the development of a wholesome personality. All the thousand activities in ordinary life mean, if done efficiently, success in the psychological sense. This is made clearer by considering the most commonplace illustrations.

A woman who has attempted to train her own personality, and for years has had to fight so hard against mental disorder and emotional chaos that at times it seemed impossible for her to do any real thinking, writes me that any little bit of order in anything whatever always affects her favorably.

The reason for this is obvious. Putting anything in order, even the most ordinary matters about one's own room or one's own daily routine, means orderly thinking and real success as far as it goes. Hence its psychological significance. Efficient activity in any constructive task means success, however trivial and banal the task may be. Still further the daily practice of successful activity means the development of a habit of success with its stimulus and its mental attitude of confidence and courage. Thus order is an index of personality.

The conditions of school success already considered concern the teacher especially. A word should be added in regard to the pupil's own part. The prime condition of

success is an integrated personality in the pupil. The very fact that the success is so vitally important to the pupil and failure brings such dire results, is liable to create a strain and fear of failure that disintegrate the individual. Thus extreme effort for success may disturb one's adjustment and cause failure. Even the need of success should not be overemphasized.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

Nowhere so much perhaps as in the study of this problem of success and failure does one come to such close quarters with the conditions necessary for the health of the individual child and for the health of society. The need of the teachings of mental hygiene is enforced here with unusual emphasis, and one is brought face to face with the wider aims and principles of education.

From the point of view of hygiene the traditional aims of the school are greatly modified and in any case put in a new perspective. The traditional aim of practical school education is primarily to impart knowledge, and the work of the teacher is to give instruction. The primary aim of hygiene is to preserve the pupil's health and to make the conditions favorable for healthful social development. As regards social training the aim of the school is the general and rather vague one of giving instruction in regard to personal character and social duties. The aim of hygiene is actual training that will make conditions favorable for the development of the healthful personality in the pupil by actual social relations in the school itself.

Thus mental hygiene emphasizes as the business of the school the actual success of each pupil as an individual and as a member of the school as a social group. Hy-

giene points out that only by successful achievement comes the attitude of confidence essential for success, both in the school and in society. It emphasizes the fact that each child needs the stimulus of success, that children thrive on large doses of it, and that in the modern school of failure children grow anæmic and depressed. Successful achievement as the business of the school is the change needed to meet modern conditions. This is the contribution of mental hygiene.

I have spoken of those teachers who are honestly trying to solve this problem of failure and are willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the normal development of their pupils. It should be said again that all undue assumption of responsibility by the teacher is likely to be with the best conscience in the world; in fact, conscientious parents and teachers are perhaps the ones most likely to be guilty, since they are overanxious to do things in the best possible way, and thus their most serious errors often result from their virtues. If we could give teachers the daily prayer most needed, it would often be a petition to be saved from their virtues.

Like most important things in hygiene, the essentials are very simple. To put them briefly and dogmatically, six things would help the teachers and improve the schools, three of them negative, three positive: first, if teachers would avoid every method by which they rob the children; second, if they would avoid the prevalent mental attitude of baste; third, if they would give up all forms, direct and indirect, of blaming children; and on the positive side: first, if they would study at first hand the personality of each pupil; second, if they would give each pupil the opportunity for a worth while task fitted as best it may be to the individual personality;

third, if they would attempt to give each individual child the opportunity for the stimulus of success in something.

As yet we have by no means solved the problem of failure. Before a satisfactory solution can be made more studies of human personality—of children, parents, and teachers, are necessary; and more experiments with different methods in the school are desirable. Likewise continued studies of the causes of failures should be made. Meanwhile the simple things that have been noted will be of great assistance.

This chapter may well be closed, as it began, with reference to the seriousness of this subject. A prominent writer has uttered the platitude: "America cannot succeed if all Americans fail." We may match this with another truism: American schools cannot be 100 per cent efficient if 50 per cent of all those who come from them never accomplish anything significant. The schools can hardly develop wholesome integrated personalities if the individual personalities of their pupils are ignored and humiliated.

The aim of progressive education and mental hygiene alike in recent times has been an integrated development so that, whatever happens, one can make adjustment, and whatever disaster occurs, one will begin again with good courage and confidence of success. This result is dependent, not merely upon red blood in the veins, but upon a habit of success that has produced and continues to produce confidence in the individual. Thus the importance of success, in the broad psychological sense, for the mental health and for wholesome personality development can hardly be overemphasized.

SUMMARY

1. Of the many difficult problems in school education, one of the most serious is the problem of failure.

2. This is emphasized by the large number of failures in school work. Apparently a third of all the pupils fail to the extent of retardation for at least one year; a still larger number never receive the stimulus of any marked success.

3. The seriousness of this failure comes from the human values involved. Continued humiliation of the children, distress of the parents, and often the continued worry of the teachers, follow.

4. The causes of these failures are many: some administrative, some psychological, some due to unhygienic conditions of work.

5. In spite of the importance of changing other conditions, reform here must be largely schoolmaster reform; and teachers are ready to meet this problem.

6. The great helps needed by teachers here are largely contributed by mental hygiene.

7. Among helpful contributions mental hygiene gives the teacher are the following: (1) a clear conception of one's duty in regard to failure, (2) an idea of the value of a flank attack by the methods of hygiene, (3) a knowledge of the psychology of success, (4) a clearer conception of the fact that success comes only by the child's own doing, (5) a knowledge of the value of failure in the development of personality, (6) a genetic view of the value of competition and the greater value of co-operation, (7) a concrete knowledge of his own faults, (8) a conception of the hygienic value of preventive dis-

cipline, (9) the interest and stimulus that come from the study of personality.

8. The value of further study of this problem and of the conditions necessary for school success is emphasized.

9. The attitude of confidence that results from the stimulus of success appears as a prime condition of the health of the individual and of the social group.

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CHAPTER XIII

OTHER PROBLEMS

WE have noted and illustrated the conditions that favor integration and those that tend to disintegration. From the consideration of such facts many problems and some obvious practical suggestions emerge. We may recall briefly the fundamental conceptions and then note some of the concrete problems.

Adjustment

For many years a consensus of educators has proclaimed adjustment as the great aim of education, both formal and informal. If we take the wider view of education as life, it appears still more emphatically that adjustment is the goal. For life itself is adjustment in thousands of different situations; and prolongation of human life, contentment in living, healthful development of the individual, service in the varied social groups of which one is a member, and efficiency generally, are all matters of right adjustment. On the other hand, disorder, both physical and mental, inability to work with others, lack of efficiency, failure, mental conflicts of various kinds, and disaster, both physical and mental, are largely the result of lack of adjustment.

Mental hygiene, of course, considers especially the problem of individual adjustment in all the industrial and social conditions of one's life. In answer to the questions how right adjustment can be obtained, what

is the characteristic of the normal mind that enables one to make right adjustment and avoid maladjustment, mental hygiene replies that the essential characteristic is wholesome integration of the personality. Hence this conception, which is one fundamental in the biological sciences and recently has become fundamental also in the psychological and social sciences, represents the primary aim of mental hygiene; and no other conception is so essential and important for school and home education and for parents and teachers as this.

The fact has been emphasized that the prime means of preserving and developing an integrated personality is coördinated purposive activity in the doing of significant tasks. Some one asks: "What is a significant task?" The answer is, one that is worth while for its own sake, like play and the creative work of the artist, or else one that has relation to some one of the manifold significant tasks of the world's work. No other task makes a normal appeal. The philosopher's man,* hired to strike a log all day with the hack of his ax, threw up the job before noon. The task was not worth while in itself. And it had no relation to service or significant work.

To recount the vast number of worth while tasks in industry, business, and professional and creative activities would be impossible and is unnecessary. A word, however, should be said about the tasks of great men.

Most men of genius have some supreme interest, an all-absorbing task that integrates their energy and activities. Recent events have given illustrations all can appreciate. Thus Commander Byrd as a twelve-year-old child, following his own initiative and the urge for a worth while task, traveled around the world alone;

* See *The Normal Mind*, p. 473.

and since that time has been absorbed in one significant task after another, crowning these with his Antarctic discoveries. He furnishes a wonderful example of the integration of the great by a persistent purpose in performing significant undertakings. Knut Rockne played his amazing football, served as coach, and attended to his teaching and other activities, apparently all with a whole-hearted integration of his unusual personality.

The Search for Truth.—The noblest of all tasks, the search for truth, is an example of integration at a high level. Some men have put the truth and the search for it above everything. Thus the great philosopher Locke wrote: ²⁷

‘Believe it, my good friend, to love truth for truth’s sake is the principal part of human perfection in this world and the seed-plot of all other virtues.’ (p. 220.)

And Lessing prized the task of seeking for truth so highly he is reported to have said that if he held the truth as a bird in his hand, he would let it go, that he might have the task of searching for it. Some scientific men have held this ideal and sought the truth primarily for its own sake; and not a few workers in all classes have prized the doing of the task in their daily work more highly than the reward for the doing.

I. THE PROBLEM OF THE TASK

The Suitable Task

The first problem of great practical importance is that of furnishing a suitable task to each child. It is easy to present the ideal and the general principle, as has already been done; and, as has been noted, in a free environment in the country it is easy to solve the problem

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of letting children alone and giving them opportunity for worth while tasks. For parents and teachers in the city this is often, however, very difficult. It is well to note in detail some of the difficulties one meets.

In solving this problem the study of three things obviously is essential: first, the child, to determine the individual's interest in tasks of various kinds and capacity for work; second, the tasks available in the given environment; and third, devices to prevent robbery of the child's task.

Experimental Studies of Children

Although the great emphasis that mental hygiene places on the development of a wholesome personality and the doing of worth while tasks adapted to the individual ability of each child, has been made clear, the practical application of the obvious inferences from these simple teachings of hygiene is not likely to be generally realized in the schools until their value and practical significance have been made clear by experimental studies of children of different ages in relation to their home and school work. For one concrete illustration of such investigations the recent study by Blonsky⁴ may be briefly described.

The Personality and the Task.—Since the aim of education and mental hygiene alike is to lead a child to work rationally, it becomes desirable to study the way children actually do work. With this aim in mind Blonsky⁴ of Moscow has tried to determine the individual differences in the natural relation of children to their tasks; and for this purpose has tested a hundred children, fifty girls and fifty boys of ages between eight and thirteen, with a series of labyrinths increasing in com-

plexity, as devised by Trabue and Stockbridge.³³ This simple experiment yielded important results. The chief types of workers found were as follows:

The first and simplest type were children who learn very poorly in school. These children work without waiting for instruction, hastily, without noting errors and difficulties, since the result of the work is indifferent to them, and they never begin a new piece of work without an objective stimulus.

Children of the second and most frequent type work according to instructions but without asking questions; they work calmly, and in case of error make a new attempt, since they have in mind the aim of the work. To this type belong the greatest number of school children. It is what may be called the usual average type of pupil.

The children of the third and highest type work very spontaneously and calmly. They ask questions about things that are not clear, and, after having orientated themselves to the work, they have complete conscious control. All these children make good progress in the school.

The fourth type may be designated as pathological. To this belong very emotional children. They seek approval of their work from those around them and suffer keenly from difficulties and errors. Mistakes, disapproval, and a doubtful attitude on the part of those around them in regard to their ability, make of such children the "I can not" type.

Blonsky found in his experiments that all children, large and small, those who make good progress and those who lag behind, work at about the same rate, neither rapidly nor slowly, although not with the same result. All children show about the same earnestness in regard

to the work, but without any superfluous pedantry. The individual differences appear in something quite different. Many children work very hastily, but that does not mean necessarily that they work rapidly. They hasten to begin work without bearing the instructions and hurry during the work. The work of these children shows gaps. Especially striking was the lack of any clear idea of the meaning of the work. Among these children—although not a large number—were most of the children of low mental development who made no progress in learning. Most children work calmly and those who do the most work belong to this group. A subgroup of this type are a special group characterized by a certain lack of movement. Even during the instructions all superficial movements are eliminated by these children. They work with unusual earnestness and make no single useless movement unnecessary to the task. Their work is usually very productive, but this is a small group.

Finally, there are the children that are absorbed in their work. Such a child usually attempts the work immediately after the instructions without asking any questions. It becomes completely absorbed in its work, pays not the least attention to what is going on in the room, forgets, so to speak, the external world. Such children, however, he found distinguished from others neither by productivity of the work nor by its methods, but they are always markedly spontaneous.

Blonsky emphasizes the diagnostic value of this labyrinth test. Children often make no progress in school on account of some lack of adjustment in their work. One child is not certain what it should do and therefore does something that is not required. Another works

only when it is spurred on to the work. A third child works poorly because it does not understand the aim of the work or is not orientated in it and has no conception of the whole. Many work very quickly; many leave the work at the first obstacle; still others are actually injured, traumatized, when things go wrong, and lose faith in their own ability. It is very important to understand what the trouble is that hinders the pupil from working with good results. The labyrinth test shows this very accurately. In this lies its diagnostic importance.

Apart from these practical suggestions given by Blonsky a few others are obvious, among them the following:

First, the great advantage of studying the child's personality as it appears in relation to its work.

Second, the grave mistake of giving the same task and requiring the same method with all children.

Third, the serious results that may come from certain forms of work and certain methods of work with some children; the speed exercises, for example, with children that are addicted to nervousness and hurry in their usual activity and with any child before testing.

The Task of Dressing

The most ordinary occupations of daily life often furnish precisely the tasks needed, as may be illustrated by considering briefly the task of dressing.

When we reflect how much of human life is spent in this daily routine its importance is obvious. It is not only an opportunity for important training in co-ordinated activity, in the facing of difficulties, and for success in accomplishment; but it develops permanent

mental habits, adjuvant or inhibitory, helpful or injurious to the mental development.

Habits commonly developed by children in connection with dressing are well known. Some spend the time in daydreaming and continue this as long as possible; some dawdle without compunction regardless of the inconvenience they may cause others; some by lack of training or improper training have found the task so difficult that they continually demand help, and only very late or perhaps never master some of the details of the daily toilet. The mental attitudes sometimes developed in connection with these diverse habits are likely to be serious handicaps to the individual and annoyances to one's associates.

In the daily activity of dressing, as soon as the child is able to assist, excellent opportunity for vastly important training in success is offered. Here in a hundred little things opportunity for matching a mental image with reality and for purposive activity is offered. Every time a child washes his own hands or puts on his own mittens he receives the stimulus of success; and even with all the devices of modern clothing, the buttons, buckles, zippers, and the like, when a child acquires the ability to dress himself, he has become a specialist in motor achievement.

In this activity of the child fortunately in most cases the activity can be spontaneous and the child given freedom from the outset, if parents, instead of checking the first attempts of the child in helping to dress, give opportunity for it. If you let a child button his own jacket when he wishes to, or put on his own stockings and shoes, you give a start on the road to motor achievement and self-activity. If a child wishes to repeat one

of these little acts involving motor coördination and does it a dozen times, as children are likely to do, at first it is so much the better unless there is a tendency to perseveration. Thus little by little the motor habits are made automatic, and not only does the child get that wholesome mental metabolism that comes from the doing of little things; but the more generic mental attitudes of self-reliance and self-confidence are developed. The more largely dressing becomes the child's own task, the less is the dawdling habit likely to be acquired.

The habits of adults are likely to be not so very different from those of children. Often they are survivals of the habits of childhood. In most adults, of course, the work of dressing has become largely automatic; but nevertheless the habits differ greatly in different individuals. With many people the hour spent in dressing is one of great fatigue; with others it is restful and tonic. Whether one or the other, it is a matter of conditioned reflexes, associations, and more or less emotional mental attitudes.

For most people it is necessary to be dressed and ready for the day's work at a definite time. Even those who have no regular day's work nevertheless feel it necessary to attend to domestic duties, to be ready for breakfast or the like. A large part of all these classes who feel the obligation of being on time are apt to delay in the morning, oversleep, or rest, or for some reason postpone rising until the time of preparation for beginning the day's work is too short; and hence dressing is done with undue haste, with the usual accompaniment of inhibitions, accidents, mislaying things, forgetting them, and lack of fully coördinated activity, so that either the task is done imperfectly, or instead of being done more

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City, the older girls have been given tasks in connection with the registration and reception of new pupils, introducing the newcomers to other pupils, informing them of the ways and customs of the school—altogether a large number of interesting social and executive duties in connection with the minor but important management of the school.

A Means of Protecting Children

Most difficult of all is the devising of methods for protecting children from those who unwittingly rob them of their tasks. With some teachers it is quite enough to point out the teachings of hygiene in regard to the value of letting children alone as much as possible. Many teachers, however, both young and old, in their zeal for helpfulness are bound to overdo, and mere hygienic instruction is apt to be of little avail. Something decidedly more than this is necessary.

With a knowledge of the essentials of mental hygiene, the one thing apparently most important for all these teachers, is, as suggested in the last chapter, first-hand observation and study of their own pupils. Such study soon develops an interest in the developing personality of the children. This arouses respect for them; and the teacher acquires such a wholesome interest in watching the spontaneous development of pupils who are granted worth while tasks and given freedom in the performance, that it supplants the tendency to undue helpfulness.

The Practical Value of the Task

Especially for the teacher whose work is handicapped and life made miserable by unruly boys, the task is the great prophylactic and remedy. Thousands of teachers

quickly, requires more time than is usually necessary, and the proverbial tardiness results. Experience of this kind, so common that it is banal to mention, usually is the result of unfortunate childish habits that have persisted.

Since in civilized countries the tasks of dressing must be performed as long as life and health last, fortunate indeed is the individual who acquires in childhood good habits and healthful attitudes in this task.

Many other tasks in connection with home duties and the like are available. Young children are usually interested in almost anything they are able to do, provided they are given responsibility for it and as much freedom as possible. Later on, a multitude of tasks connected with the school are available; duties in connection with keeping the surroundings of the schoolhouse clean and sanitary, tasks in caring for the welfare of younger children, as in the schoolboy patrol, and the like. In the higher grades and the high schools many tasks in connection with the organization and records of the school, and sometimes extra-scholastic activities, in editing and printing a school paper, or the like, are found helpful.

A fifth-grade teacher reports that in her own class they edited a health journal each week. In preparing this every pupil had something to do, some in preparing items of interest, some in drawing, and others in the varied details of the coöperative task. This was distinctly helpful, not merely for the value of the work itself, but as a stimulus to other work. One unruly boy who had always given trouble became the cartoonist for this journal. His behavior was changed, not only in the school but at home as well.

In the Washington Irving High School, New York

and self-supporting when his former employer loaned the committee a machine which was set up in a quiet corner where the sick man could work for a time at his own pace. [p. 10.]

In view of what has been said, the parent and teacher will desire to ask how can the worth while task be found and how can one determine what kind of a task is needed by each child and youth? In theoretical outline this problem is simple. A task is needed that is adapted to the interests and the special ability of the given individual, one that gives opportunity for individual success in the doing and for rendering some significant service to the social group ensuring social success, and withal one that gives healthful personality training.

The practical solution of this problem, however, for the individual in a given environment is so vastly complex that few if any definite rules can be given until a multitude of further studies of the hygiene of human personality in relation to the social group have been made. Studies of the genetic development of personality, of the relation of the individual to the social group, personnel studies of individuals in relation to the varied occupations in industry and business, together with the scientific studies of childhood and education, all throw important light on the problem; but no concrete rules can be given. It remains the perennial practical problem for each parent and teacher.

Of all the tasks that children desire, and that we deny them, none perhaps are more common than those involving actual responsibility. The desire of the child to take responsibility and the pleasure he receives from it are clear to any one who gives a child the opportunity to be, as one says, upon his own, and to take responsibility.

who have used this preventive method could testify to its value.

A friend of mine took the principalship of a rural school that had been disorganized by unruly boys. He had, however, the preventive attitude, and when he opened the school called the boys together and organized a baseball team, making clear to them, however, that orderly behavior would be a condition of membership. The result was not only good order in the school but a wholesome influence in the community.

Again and again in preceding pages the inestimable value of suitable tasks for morale and for the mental health has been emphasized. If anything more is needed, the examples of occupational therapy throughout the country give striking emphasis. For a single example, the work in New York City may be cited.

A notable illustration is the experience in Bellevue Hospital. A recent report states that this method has been used in 4,000 cases, and Dr. Gregory¹¹ opened a new psychopathic pavilion at the hospital for this work, and a division of occupational therapy has been planned in the city's new department of hospitals. Two concrete cases illustrate the successful results of this form of cure.

Among the striking cases described is that of a woman who had suffered an injury which left one hand almost closed. She was given a ball of wool which she wound back and forth, making the portion held in the injured hand a little larger each time. Finally the hand lost its stiffness and was restored to normal use.

A second case described was that of a man who had been sick, had lost his savings and his job, and had been sent to Bellevue suffering from a neurosis. The man became normal

The examples of youth who have developed normally and been saved by responsibility for worth while tasks of their own should be remembered, and also the cases where children are handicapped and permanently injured by repression and unwise training by devoted parents.

The Example of Ruskin

The way excellent and highly intelligent people may become the enemies of their own children is almost incredible. The actual records of parents of this class who never wean their children and who rob them of the opportunity to take responsibility and to develop initiative give amazing evidence. A single illustration in some detail may be given, the case of a superior man and one of the greatest of English writers, John Ruskin. A most interesting account of his training and slavery has been given by Louise Nelson,²² to whose article I am indebted for the facts here cited.

In regard to great writers and idealists like Ruskin we do not like to be disillusioned; but as Ruskin himself has given us an account of his own experience in boyhood and the training he received at his mother's knee, one can understand the man the better by giving attention to his early life.

To put this account in right perspective one should recall the genius of Ruskin, one of the greatest of English prose writers, an economist, sociologist, and geologist; not only an artist, an art critic and philosopher, he has also been called "a draftsman of exquisite though unfruitful skill," and Morley called him one of the three giants of prose style of the nineteenth century.

A brief summary of some of the outstanding facts in

ity in doing something worth while. How much children who are robbed of this right feel the desire for it is illustrated by the carefully guarded boy who, when asked what present he wanted for his birthday, replied he would like to be given a chance to walk down the street alone.

The Danger of Freedom

The objection one who advocates responsibility and freedom will meet everywhere is the danger connected with them. "I don't want my boy to break his neck," exclaims the prudent parent. "I must protect my girl," says the mother. Plenty of illustrations of the danger of freedom are cited by men and women everywhere. This, of course, is all true enough. Freedom has always been dangerous; but mental hygiene points out that prescription and repression may be even more dangerous. The alternative to freedom is apt to be slavery to a benevolent and omniscient martinet.

In speaking to a group of nurses at one of our state hospitals, the writer noted the need of freedom in choosing one's own task and performing it, stressed the advantage to health that comes from this freedom, and expressed the view that if absolute obedience in a few things is inculcated, freedom is then a safe condition. A prominent clergyman who heard this statement reported a case he knew personally of a boy who was given freedom, grew up to demand always his own way, and was ruined as the result. The good man, however, seemed to have quite missed the point, since this unfortunate youth probably had never been trained to obedience in anything and had lacked suitable opportunity to take responsibility.

mother's resolution by splendor of temptation, she bought the most radiant Punch and Judy, all dressed in scarlet and gold, and that could dance. . . . My mother was obliged to accept them, but afterward quietly told me it was not right I should have them, and I never saw them again. [p. 689.]

When he was four his parents moved to Herne Hill, where they had a house bounded by a garden with an orchard in the rear. The garden took the place of the nursery carpet, and he had the companionship of a friendly dog or cat; but the fruit of the garden he was not allowed to eat. He reports that once his mother gave him three raisins, but these were the only sweets allowed him until some years later.

The garden was a paradise with "magical splendor of abundant fruit" that he could look at. When he played there, his mother gave him one currant and sometimes a ripe peach or the like. The prime difference he observed between this garden and that of Eden was that "in this one all of the fruit was forbidden."

At four he taught himself to read by the configuration method, refusing to learn words by the syllable method. He learned to write by copying printed type as children learn to draw horses, or the like. At five he was already a bookworm; at seven he began to write poetry and prose; at eight his written works were so numerous he began to classify them under various heads; at nine he published his first poem; at fifteen his first piece of prose.

Up to the age of ten his mother was his sole tutor. Her educational aim and attitude are described by Miss Nelson as follows:

Her child she tried to fit into her preconceived idea of a child comfortable to live with. She loved him in her stern,

Ruskin's training is sufficient. At birth a specially healthy infant, at four months a trial to his mother because he knew what he wanted and was bound to have it. When he had reached what his mother deemed the age of understanding what punishment was, a good whipping was applied. As Miss Nelson has reported:

He was whipped if he cried; he was whipped if he was troublesome; he was whipped if he did not do as he was bid; he was whipped if he tumbled on the stairs or was careless or did not keep quiet. When she was busy, she shut him into a room upstairs with some pieces of wood and a hunch of keys, saying, "John, if you make a noise, you shall be whipped," and John was quiet because he knew from experience that his mother always kept her word. [p. 68.]

In childhood he was forced to perceive the world especially through the sense of vision, denied free use of the primitive sense of touch, which naturally would come first, never permitted spontaneous attention, to use sight, touch, and muscle sense together on objects he could move and handle. Thus he was occasionally permitted to see his cousins but not to play with them. He was allowed to see the performance of others, but not freely to perform acts himself. Shut in his nursery, he got what joy he could from the jingle and glitter of a hunch of keys and spent his time contentedly tracing the squares and patterns in the nursery carpets, wall paper, and the like.

Playthings were sinful. He must find his own amusement. Of himself he writes:

No toys of any kind were at first allowed, and the pity of my Croydon aunt for my monastic poverty in this respect was boundless. On one of my birthdays, thinking to overcome my

The pathetic tragedy of it all, was expressed by Ruskin himself in a letter when he was forty-two, written to Professor Norton, of Harvard, in which he referred to the "almost unendurable solitude" in his home aggravated by the unconscious cruelty of "parental love," and in what he wrote to Sir Henry Acland of "the loss of a father who would have sacrificed his life for his son, and yet forced his son to sacrifice his life to him, and sacrifice it in vain."

"The Unpardonable Sin"

In an old but famous story Hawthorne uses as a subtitle "the unpardonable sin." Although he is not very clear and emphatic in regard to this, what he meant, as I understand it, was that isolation of an individual from his fellows that makes one a mere psychological observer in society and leaves him cold and indifferent to the feelings and interests of his fellow men. As we recognize to-day, cases of this kind are usually either pathological, extreme examples of the shut-in personality, or are merely the unusual personalities that by nature are reticent and have perhaps few social talents. Of course whatever the individual variations, all need social contact and social experience. Those who are lacking in natural social gifts should receive the more social training; but the unpardonable sin is not what Hawthorne described, not even what Hawthorne perhaps feared might be the development in his own case. Rather the really unpardonable sin, if there be such, is the deadening of personality by depriving the individual of legitimate opportunity for initiative, and freedom for self-expression and self-development.

The solution of this problem of the task is largely the

moral is not necessary; for Ruskin has done it himself, in part as follows:

And for the best and truest beginning of all blessings I had been taught the perfect meaning of Peace, in thought, act, and word.

I never had heard my father's or mother's voice once raised in any question with each other; nor seen an angry, or even slightly hurt or offended, glance in the eyes of either. I had never heard a servant scolded; nor even suddenly, passionately, or in any severe manner, blamed. I had never seen a moment's trouble or disorder in any household matter; nor anything whatever done in a hurry, or undone in due time. I had no conception of such a feeling as anxiety. [p. 703.]

Peace, obedience, faith; these three for chief good; next to them, the habit of fixed attention with both eyes and mind.

On the other hand the outstanding calamities were:

I had nothing to love.

I had nothing to endure. Danger or pain of any kind I knew not; my strength was never exercised, my patience never tried, and my courage never fortified.

My judgment of right and wrong, and powers of independent action were left entirely undeveloped; because the bridle and blinkers were never taken off me. Children should have their little times of being off duty, like soldiers; and when once obedience, if required, is certain, the little creature should be early put for periods of practice in complete command of itself; set on the barebacked horse of its own will, and left to break it by its own strength. But the ceaseless authority exercised over my youth left me, when cast out at last into the world, unable for some time to do more than drift with its vortices.

I wonder mightily what sort of creature I should have turned out, if, instead of the distracting and useless pain, I had had the joy of approved love and the untellable, incalculable motive of its sympathy and praise. [p. 704.]

some educators and hygienists take a pessimistic view and are inclined to throw up their hands in despair in regard to the possibility of proper training of children, at least by parents, in the early years. Parents, on the other hand, often become equally discouraged in regard to the possibility of training their children, especially in the adolescent years.

A Primer for Parents

What is really desired by intelligent parents is some simple instruction that will enable them to avoid the serious pitfalls that lie in their pathway and something to protect them from those grave blunders in training that so often are irreparable. Fortunately positive child hygiene, so far as the development of a wholesome personality is concerned, gives such simple and direct aids, and the few principles on this positive side of hygienic training are so simple, that all, even the busiest fathers and mothers, in spite of parental sentiments and prejudices, apparently need not err therein. Some of the things of prime importance are as follows:

1. *Growth*

The native impulse to growth is the first and great ally of the parent. Although it should never be made the excuse for parental neglect, it solves many problems for those who dare trust this imperative urge of nature's development. Those who supply a rich environment and give this opportunity for growth find in normal children a positive development in integration at higher and higher levels as the years go by. For the most desirable acquisition of a wholesome personality and for the supplanting of primitive responses by higher and more fully developed

key to the whole problem of parental education. A few of the more obviously direct aspects of the problem, however, may be added in some detail.

II. THE PROBLEM OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

The task of providing an hygienic environment and of protecting children from their enemies as well as that of positive training, place requirements on parents of grave importance. It is, of course, the perennial problem that must be wrestled with anew for each individual child. But a few general suggestions perhaps may help.

The Delinquent Parent

In recent years parents have been blamed for about all the defects of education and bygiene in the early years. So emphatic and serious has been this criticism that public sympathy has been aroused for the fathers and mothers, struggling with the vast problems of educating their own children. In this blame of parents social workers have given glaring and pitiable examples. Teachers have often ridiculed their ignorance and blunders. Mental hygienists have illustrated the injurious behavior patterns in children developed by the parents. And the parents themselves have bewailed their own ignorance and inability to train their own children.

However faulty parental education may have been, and however inefficient our own fathers and mothers were in the work of home education, nevertheless they are the ones who most of all have the welfare of children at heart. For a large part of this education they are the only ones that can furnish the training, good or bad. Since the parents themselves are inherently handicapped by their emotions and prejudices concerning their own children,

ing that instead of putting play into the curriculum, we put the curriculum into play. It should be remembered in all consideration of this subject that unless it be free play it is not really and fully play.

Hygiene of Emotion.—Here as elsewhere, hygiene means prevention. It is usually easier to prevent emotional outbreaks than to cure them. Although the child's first business is to grow, its more obviously active business is to play. If children can be let alone and given large opportunity for free play, emotional hygiene is usually insured; but in some children, even with the best of care, emotional tantrums can not always be prevented.

The most important factors in play are freedom and the opportunity to play with other children. Expensive toys are not necessary, but a few simple things, with which the child can do something, are desirable. The importance of freedom and opportunity for play in relation to emotion is fairly obvious.

Avoidance of Excitement.—Stratton has presented the view that the most generic of the emotional attitudes, the background, or perhaps more accurately the matrix, from which the more violent emotions are developed is a generic condition of excitement. If this be so, then the best way to avoid emotional outbreaks is to prevent, if possible, undue excitement in children. Excitement, whether from overstimulation or lack of sleep, or improper food, or whatever cause, is the danger signal, and this is the emotional stage when hygiene has its opportunity.

To this the objection may be made by some that children need the stimulus of excitement and that personality development is not quite normal without this. This probably is true; but in the modern world children

behavior, this growth impulse gives the supreme assistance. Thus parents who control their own habits of baste and childish desires for rapid development, let their children alone, and give time and opportunity for nature's slow processes of growth, will find here the best and often the only solution of some of their most serious problems.

Freedom for Play.—Since for the first six or seven years of life at least play is the child's serious business, it is well not to interfere rashly with this. Thom, and Blatz and Bott,³ have suggested the rule not to interrupt children when absorbed in their own work except for food, or on account of danger, or the routine demands of the toilet. Not infrequently we interfere seriously with a child's activity without being aware of it; and the limitation of the child's freedom is a not infrequent cause of what may seem surprising emotional disturbance.

A well behaved child of five years, for example, set himself the little task of undressing all alone as quickly as possible when friends of the family were visiting. Unfortunately his mother came into his room too soon, before he had had time to finish. At once he broke into a distressing flood of tears, exclaiming, "I wanted to surprise them!" It is sometimes impossible to avoid such tragedies in child training.

How serious this business of the child is, when engaged in its own work, any one can observe in case of a normal child absorbed in his own play task. The importance of letting children alone as much as possible in such important activity should be emphasized as one of the concrete ways in which adults may foster the development of a normal wholesome personality.

Some students of childhood, like Johnson, have emphasized none too strongly the importance of play, suggest-

parts of the country, they were usually mailed on Sunday, their content was not usually in regard to definite requests for information, but they gave account of personal matters, little things connected with the private life of the writer, often matters relating to the particular situation where the individual might be at the time. They were, in a word, usually letters of confession in regard to personal interests, relations, and desires, often describing the individual's family in detail.

Experience has shown that it is especially helpful to have opportunity for college students to consult a person competent to listen and understand. This is best provided by having what we have suggested, opportunity for all students to consult a regularly appointed mental hygienist endowed with common-sense and prepared for his work by thoroughgoing scientific training in hygiene.

Adolescent Problems.—When their children reach the adolescent period the problems of parents are perhaps most difficult and their anxiety greatest.

The exasperating character of adolescent behavior need not be recounted, it is known too well. To many parents it may be said of their boys and girls alike: They do those things they ought not to do; they leave undone the things they ought to do. The least you feel you should require of them they neglect. They forestall you in doing things you desire to do yourself. What you especially beg them not to do, they insist on doing. You feel that at least you should know where they are; and that when they change their plans or ignore yours, they should tell you; but when you suppose they are in one place they are elsewhere. To understand them you are unable. You have tried your best. But because of this lack of understanding you do them injustice and offend them. It is

However, even though this might not have been true, these evening chats were justifiable, because they afforded the child an opportunity to unburden his mind of the little cares and worries of the day. In reality they seemed small only to adults, not to children. [p. 343.]

The danger with such a method is that the instruction may be overdone or degenerate into an inquisition. Parents, however, who have learned to let children alone as much as possible and to restrain the impulse always to give advice may find this method most helpful. It gives the opportunity for children to share their difficulties and problems with their parents, to confess the anxieties and grievances they have, to settle the day's account each night and never retain a grudge until the morrow; and it gives parents the opportunity to retain that understanding of their own children that few parents attain.

A Child Confessional.—The plan adopted by Katz seems to have had an important function as a confessional for his children. Many children and many adults seem to need something of this kind. With children the parents are, of course, the natural ones to whom confession may well be made. When natural and spontaneous, this seems to be an important asset for healthful mental development.

The opportunity for confession meets perhaps a common human need. The Catholic Church has made large provision for it. Quite apart from religion many persons have felt the need for it. Arthur Train³⁴ reports a most interesting observation in regard to letters that he receives from his readers. Many of these come from travelling salesmen. After Mr. Train had received some hundreds of these he noticed certain characteristics. They came largely from men away from home at hotels in different

Since the teacher stands in *loco parentis*, this primer for parents is important also for teachers, although the latter, of course, have to consider many other things as well. Parents, on the other hand, will do well to study the advice mental hygiene furnishes to teachers, especially in regard to discipline.

III. THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATING METHODS

One other difficult problem of first-rate importance is that of devising suitable methods for eliminating the disintegrating customs that develop in connection with each of the different school subjects and substituting integrating methods. A single illustration in some detail will be all that is necessary.

Speech and Integration of the Personality

Integration of the personality represents the general mental attitude of the healthful individual in the use of speech. The development of this wholesome personality involves many important details. The more general of these are self-knowledge of one's own behavior and emotional impulses, self-analysis, and the substitution of wholesome mental attitudes and right habits for the unfortunate patterns of behavior that have survived from one's own childhood or been developed by unfortunate experience.

The practical application of the mental hygiene of speech must, of course, be worked out in the classroom by the special teachers on the basis of sound hygienic principles. Fortunately a beginning in doing this has already been made. An excellent illustration is the work done in the beginning speech course in the University of

enough to wear out the strongest nerves. And for years of care and help your reward is estrangement. This is what is likely to happen. This is what has happened thousands of times. It is helpful, however, to face the facts.

The individual parent may well be reminded again that the aberrations in growth, both physical and mental, at this period are largely incidents of development that are likely to be outgrown if youth for the most part are wisely let alone. Here the teachings of mental hygiene give significant help and the special literature on adolescence is now rich and valuable. (Chapters XV and XVI.)

4. *Respect for the Child*

Respect for the child's personality helps in wholesome development. The one thing more important than any scholastic acquisition is the child's own personality. Parents who gain this insight naturally respect the selfhood of their own children and are cautious about interfering with its development. This involves opportunity for the child to do his own task without interference, and freedom as far as possible to choose his own task and his own plan, so that it may really be the child's task and not the parents'.

5. *The Study of Personality*

It is helpful for parents as well as teachers to observe and study the personality of their children. To take an objective attitude in regard to them, however, is difficult. One may do it perhaps for his neighbor's children; few can do it for their own. Nevertheless the attempt at such study is valuable, for it develops a parent's interest in the growth of personality.

that provides the student with opportunity to analyze his own behavior in relation to his fellows and to gain the criticism of fellow students and the professional criticism of one's teacher. This course also furnishes opportunity, by the speeches and discussions of the student, to expose one's philosophy and mental attitudes in regard to morals, religion, social relations, and the like. Instead of the usual impersonal instructor-student relationship, this speech classroom conducted from the mental hygiene point of view gives an intimacy of personal relationship between instructor and student that aids the students to understand themselves. Thus Morse rightly says:

The teacher of speech who has a thorough psychological and psychiatric background and who understands the technique of mental hygiene and child-guidance clinics can be of inestimable value to a great many students of speech whose behavior difficulties are not of so serious a nature as to require the attention of a professional psychiatrist. Often such a speech teacher can detect cases of emotional disturbance of a serious nature which otherwise might escape the attention of the professional psychiatrist if the university employs one. [p. 340.]

Morse recognizes also that the essential educational value in elementary speech training is the development of behavior habits that will enable the student to adjust himself to his social environment, and he emphasizes the fact that the problem of good speech is not primarily one of developing physical habits of the speech mechanism, but basically a problem of the state of mental health in the individual who wishes to influence others by the use of speech.

Morse notes further that elocutionary methods may often injure the mental health of the student by developing habits of overcompensation to cover one's feeling of

Michigan. The mental hygiene technique used there has been described by Morse in part as follows:

The close relationship between personality and speech habits is emphasized. Accepting the definition that personality is the sum total of one's behavior tendencies and patterns, Morse²⁰ suggests that for emphasis we might say, "one's personality is the sum total of one's speech habits." When we criticize a student's speech we criticize his personality. When attention is called to a speech mannerism that produces a negative audience reaction, we point out that he possesses a personality trait that varies from the hypothetical normal. In a word, in this course it is made clear to students that to change one's personality one should understand that it is one's past environment acting upon his inherited structure which has produced one's present personality, and that the influence of past experiences of an individual shows its effect upon his present behavior in the speech situation because this arouses him emotionally.

The classroom work in this course is supplemented by private conferences in which the instructor tries to help the student to analyze the causes of his likes and dislikes, his prejudices, social fears, reactions to parents, repressions, social philosophy, mental conflicts, and the like.

Like Blanton, Morse recognizes that good speech habits cannot be developed by a student who is maladjusted to society; and the aim of the course is to develop right mental attitudes, emotional adjustment, and healthful patterns of behavior. The speech class offers one of the best opportunities for study and analysis of the emotional problems and behavior habits of students. It is one of the very few courses in the university curriculum

he was always alert to note the psychological mood of his audience and to grasp the psychological opportunity offered. It was much the same in his more serious discussion. Thus, when a group of psychologists in a moment of enthusiasm and didactic zeal were about to pass a resolution expressing their conviction that discipline acquired in one subject does not transfer to another, Hall, by merely asking the question, whether a body of experts actually proposed to solve a great psychological problem by a show of hands, restored their scientific poise and judgment and at once killed the resolution.

With integration of the personality at a high level one may succeed in spite of grave defects, especially defects of technique. A single noteworthy example will suffice.

Phillips Brooks.—Phillips Brooks was one of the greatest of pulpit orators, ranking with the great preachers like Bossuet, Fénelon, and Savonarola. His speech, however, was defective. Report has it, that while at college he consulted one of his teachers about the choice of a profession. The professor said to him, so the story goes, "We may begin by ruling out the things one cannot do. You, for example, because of your speech defect, stammering, could not become a preacher." But, as everybody knows, he did become a preacher and one of the greatest the world has ever seen. This came, however, not by conquering completely the speech disorder; for it stayed with him throughout life. He stammered, and his speech was a torrent of words. Only one stenographer in Boston, it was said, was able to take down his addresses, averaging perhaps 200 words a minute. He succeeded in spite of his defects, because other factors, especially his personality and psychological appeal, more than compensated for the grave fault in his technique.

inadequacy, and points out that in many instances elocutionary technique, with its devices of arbitrary speech and its artificial drill, succeeds only in masking the undesirable emotional habits which are symptoms of social maladjustment.

In connection with this study by Morse should be recalled the work of Piaget and his statement of the fact that speech in its social relations helps to overcome the autistic character of the child's thinking dominant in the egocentric period of early childhood. Thus speech as a social function, is helpful to the development of the personality.

The inference made by Morse that the problem of good speech is primarily one of the state of mental health of the individual is supported by evidence one can get by studying good speakers and great orators.

The writer can add a few illustrations of this from personal observation. It has been his good fortune to know some speakers who were masters of psychological presentation and good examples of integration.

G. Stanley Hall.—My old teacher and chief, G. Stanley Hall,⁵ was a peculiarly good example. His addresses before the meetings of the National Education Association were excellent illustrations. He had large audiences and interested hearers. The reason was not altogether simple. Several factors combined to explain his success. He appeared before his audience as an integrated personality expressing itself in a voice of great charm. In spite of many defects, he had a good technique; he was fairly logical; but one of the greatest factors in his success was his psychological presentation. Logical order he was always ready to sacrifice for psychological appeal; and since this depends largely on the immediate situation,

is not very far from every one of us, something that can be developed by the daily doing of significant tasks, individual and social, and by personal adjustment to reality. This is the essential doctrine of mental health.

Wendell Phillips.—For the highest success all four factors are, of course, necessary. The best illustration of this I recall, was that of the famous orator just mentioned, Wendell Phillips. A man of pleasing and integrated personality, of striking personal appearance, a master of good English, with no spectacular gestures or suggestion of bombastic words, speaking in a conversational tone, clear in his articulation, accurate in pronunciation, a model of perfect technique, and making a most effective psychological appeal, with no hint of self-consciousness or uncontrolled emotion, but apparently a perfect example of a personality integrated by a great purpose, he was a masterly speaker.

A remarkable test of the ability of Wendell Phillips was given in his address at Harvard on the hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Phi Beta Kappa Society and the fiftieth anniversary of Phillips' graduation from college. The audience was an unusual one. On the platform sat distinguished professors and men of letters—Longfellow, Richard Grant White, and others; in the pit was a highly selected group of distinguished scholars; but it was, it should be noted, an audience likely to be critical, the hardest kind of audience to move by an emotional appeal. Withal the occasion was an opportunity for a great orator. Wendell Phillips was equal to this crucial test of a speaker's ability. With his self-control in form and manner he expressed certain extravagant views. "When I was in college," he said, "my favorite study was history; but fifty years of practical life

No one perhaps better than Phillips Brooks illustrated the prime importance of the wholesome personality for effective public speaking. This made it possible for him to ignore to some extent the psychological appeal that speakers generally must make by large use of concrete example, illustration, and practical application to individual situations. It was this that enabled him to speak on great subjects of universal human interest to all classes of people, high or low, educated or uneducated. The story was told of him that at one time he preached with great effect before the convicts at the Concord penitentiary. It leaked out afterwards that a short time before he had used the same sermon with equal effectiveness at Wellesley College.

His success is well known. When he spoke in Boston before business men at the noon hour of the working day, crowds listened to him. When he made an address at a meeting with other speakers, in the richness of his thought and the force of his oratory, he was, as Wendell Phillips would say, an arrow's flight above them all. The great purpose by which the personality of Phillips Brooks was integrated, and the force of his intense psychological appeal, made his audience forget his stammering in the interest of his message, or often interpret it as a normal expression of his emotion.

Essentials for Speaking.—Such is the relation of personality to speech. Assuming that one has a message, three things, yea four, are essential to good speaking—a good technique, logical presentation, psychological appeal, a wholesome, integrated personality; and the greatest of these is the wholesome personality. And personality, as we have seen, is not a vague mysterious gift of the gods to the few, not a thing remote or rare, but something that

solution. Some of these have already been mentioned. Many young men and young women are ready to face reality, but can find no adequate answer to the question, what is reality? They are ready to play the game of life according to the rules if anywhere they can find what the rules are. Many mature men and women are in the same dilemma and can only solve the day's problems as best they may and merely wait for further scientific knowledge of the larger questions of healthful living.

Sorrow

Most of these are emotional problems. One may be briefly noted. Since sorrow is universal, the questions: what relation has sorrow to the development of personality? and, what principles of hygiene should be followed in regard to sorrow? present a pressing problem.

Janet has already been quoted in his statement that sorrow is unwholesome and that happiness and joy are conditions of health. This is sound doctrine, but since every one sooner or later meets sorrow, the problem still remains, what is hygienic behavior in relation to it? One is brought to close quarters with this problem in any concrete case of heartbreaking bereavement. In such a situation anything that may be said is liable to seem both annoying and futile. The ready answer is that this is the time for friendship, philosophy, religion, and one's task.

To this hygiene would add the suggestion that perhaps this universal experience may have significance for personality development by giving insight and stimulus for wholesome activity. This seems to have been the view of Goethe. In one of his poems he writes:

have taught me that half of history is lies and the other half largely the writer's own conjecture." Again, speaking of the Russian nihilists, the limitations of freedom, and the injustice to the innocent in Russia, he said in substance: "Of all the cant in this canting world, the worst is the cant of American newspapers canting about the Russian nihilists." And he added: "In such a land dynamite and the dagger are the natural and only proper substitutes for Faneuil Hall and the *Daily Advertiser*." * As I watched the distinguished men on the platform I saw them leaning forward to catch every word he said and smiling at or applauding his extravagant statements. Afterwards A. S. Hill, Professor of Rhetoric at Harvard, said: "We found ourselves applauding him when he said just what we did not believe."

An experiment similar to that made by Morse might well be tried in other subjects. While the special methods, of course, would be changed with the different conditions, the same general principle could be followed and the attempt made to avoid all disintegrating methods. In the subjects of composition in the mother tongue and in literature especially, good opportunity for such an experiment might be found. A teacher with good knowledge of mental hygiene would be able to use such a method without distraction but with distinct advantage to the main purpose of the course.

IV. GENERAL PROBLEMS OF MENTAL HYGIENE

Finally are the great problems of life and work where to-day scientific hygiene can at most give only a tentative

* These passages from Wendell Phillips' oration are quoted as the writer heard it. My memory, however, is very clear in regard to just what Phillips said.

The Experimental Attitude

Those who succeed in studying themselves objectively and in acquiring some self-knowledge are likely to be at times appalled by the lack of our knowledge in regard to what, in many conditions of life, is really healthful behavior for oneself and proper treatment of one's neighbor. These are often important crises where the usual rule of doing nothing when one knows not what to do cannot be applied. They are dilemmas where something must be done, sometimes where doing nothing is obviously dangerous. In such crises mental hygiene suggests again intelligent experimentation, although dangerous.

This may be made clearer by a concrete illustration, one used by William James.¹⁵ He supposes the case of a mountain climber in the Alps. This adventurer finds himself in a situation where he cannot go back, and in front is a wide break in the ice and rocks. The man has never had experience in jumping gulfs like this. He believes, however, that he can leap over it. It is true such an experiment is dangerous, but he must try the experiment because there is nothing else to do.

The sequel of the incident, as James pictures it, should be cited also, because it illustrates the way sometimes an experiment justifies itself. Confident that he can leap over the abyss, the tourist makes the attempt and succeeds. Another man, however, in a similar situation may linger and hesitate, study the situation, reflect upon the danger of any such experiment, and finally, worn out with anxiety, because nothing else can be done, makes the attempt and fails, when if he had tried at first with

Wer nicht sein Brod mit Tränen ass,
Wer nicht für kummervolle Nächte
Aul seinem Bette weinend sass,
Er kennt euch nicht ihr himliche Gemächte.

This may be translated in substance as follows:

Who has not eaten his bread with tears,
Who has not for sorrowful nights
Sat weeping on his bed,
He knows you not, ye powers divine.

For the solution of this mystery of sorrow, mental hygiene can offer little practical advice. The general principle, however, is again the gospel of the task. To continue one's work and preserve one's health, if possible, is the teaching of hygiene.

Personal Problems

A great number of problems, most of them trivial, some of them gravely serious, where nature and convention are involved, confront the person who would live hygienically. The most important of these to-day are questions where convention has broken down and science has not yet adequately interpreted nature. Such are the problems which confront adolescents, and for the young men and young women of to-day these are among the duties imperative. Meanwhile, the thing to be emphasized is faithful continuance of one's work and honest and persistent research, avoiding conventional dogmatism and the waste of time by emotional rationalization.

Thus in some cases all that can be done is scientific study, suspense of judgment, intelligent experimentation, and sometimes, what hygiene usually condemns, the taking of risks.

6. Hygienic activity is attentive activity, for attention is integration. In many schools with methods now used, the usual complaint by teachers of inattention suggests that much of the work is not hygienic.

7. Hygiene requires the avoidance of conditions disintegrating and confusing in the instruction and training, especially harsh criticism, sarcasm, blame, and anything that reflects upon the personality of the pupil, such as words and actions that call attention to personal defect or inferiority.

8. Hygiene emphasizes the health value of the objective or scientific attitude, or, in educational terms, the learning attitude in its highest form; thus emphasizing truth rather than opinion, learning rather than teaching, and the value of training in the scientific attitude in all school activity.

9. Hygienic activity is carried on at the rhythm and rate of speed natural to the individual. The child's nervous system is adapted to relatively slow responses. An artificial haste is unhygienic. How far do the schools regard this hygienic rule to-day?

10. Hygienic conduct is obedient conduct. It does not, however, follow that disobedience is always unhygienic. The teacher without knowledge of hygiene, for example, may require conduct impossible for the pupil at the given stage of the individual's development. How far does school practice conform to the genetic method?

11. Hygienic conduct has a wholesome relation to the social group of which a child is a member—home, playground, school groups, and the like. Each of these may be a normal democratic group, in which each mem-

his initial strength and confidence he would have succeeded.

Thus it appears that scientific study, patience, faith, and the experimental attitude may be needed even by the wholesome personality.

Problems in Regard to Practice

A number of practical problems in regard to the actual practice of mental hygiene to-day in the schools may well be considered. Some of them are as follows:

1. The primary aim of mental hygiene is the preservation and development of a wholesome personality and the prevention of personality disorders. How far is this true of education? How far is it true of practice in the schoolroom?

2. Hygiene requires respect for the personality of each pupil as a unique and independent individual—an object for observation and study, but never for snap judgments. Does education emphasize this in the same way? How far do teachers follow this same rule in practice? Similar questions may be asked after each of the following statements.

3. Hygiene requires regard for the whole personality as an integrated unit, the whole child as shown in its interests and behavior, in home, playground, and the like, as well as in the school.

4. For the preservation and development of a wholesome integrated personality hygiene requires a task of his own for each pupil and a maximum of freedom in the choice and doing of the task.

5. Hygiene requires the adjustment of the task to the personality and stage of development of each pupil, so that each may receive the stimulus of success.

mental hygiene offers nothing specific, but does suggest that it may furnish stimulus and insight.

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ber has opportunity to contribute something to the welfare of the group. How far are they democratic?

12. Mental hygiene teaches the avoidance of error, artificial mechanisms—prejudices, deceptive customs by which one deceives teachers and the social group, and the conceit of knowledge, by which one deceives oneself. How far are these avoided in the schoolroom?

SUMMARY

1. Of the multitude of practical problems in regard to personality, three have been discussed in some detail, the problems of the task, of parental education, of integrating methods.

2. The problem of the task is primarily one of fitting the task to the individual personality.

3. This involves special study of the tasks available, of the personalities concerned, and of means of protecting children from unwise interference.

4. The problem of parental education is primarily one of giving parents the benefit of the teachings of mental hygiene.

5. Five things are especially helpful to parents; a knowledge of the significance of growth, of the importance of the task, of the value of obedience, respect for the child, and actual study of the personality of one's children.

6. The problem of integrating methods is primarily one of applying the hygiene of personality to educational methods. For illustration, methods of speech training were chosen.

7. In the apparently unsolvable problem of personal sorrow that often gravely threatens the mental health,

the subject of sociology, but in view of this interrelation of the hygiene of the individual and that of the social group, a few important points should be mentioned.

Social Methods

Two general methods are used everywhere in the management of social groups and organizations of every kind, whether in the directing of school or college or financial organization, or the government of the town, the state, or the nation. One is the method of control by elaborate rules, with prohibitions, criticism, blame, penalties of every kind; supervision, alert suspicion, investigation, probes, warnings; the punishment for offenses, elaborate standardization of penalties; and when things go bad, the increase of penalties, curtailment of privileges, and deprivation of liberty in a hundred ways.

Whatever the size or character of the group, this method is likely to prevail. Apparently it has always been used to greater or less degree. It is the direct and obvious method. With a strong and dominant leader it has often maintained efficient and orderly groups. The method, however, is not apt to produce a permanently wholesome group. Ambitions, jealousies, selfishness, discontent and a sense of insecurity, fear, and injustice, are likely to develop and soon poison the group.

The other method is what may fairly be called the method of hygiene; for it is the method of prevision and prevention. The attempt is made to provide for every individual a suitable job, to give the maximum of liberty and privileges, to provide sanitary conditions, methods for preventing accident, disease, and conduct disorders, and the provision in general of positive conditions that make for health, happiness, and normal

CHAPTER XIV

THE PROBLEM OF THE SOCIAL GROUP

Self and the Group

ALTHOUGH we have considered especially the development of the individual self, the problem of healthful development is really a problem of the relation of the self to the group. The "shut-in personality," as we have already noted, may be as dangerous to healthful development as the more direct and active antisocial reactions of the abnormal. Thus, as Heinrich Schulte²⁴ has pointed out, the person also who withdraws from the events of life and assumes the rôle of the passive spectator at length finds himself alone, unsought by others. This loneliness causes melancholia, for without participation in the affairs of others the social sense is lost, and this brings in its train the minor symptoms of paranoia. (p. 353.) Although these may not lead to a developed case of this mental disorder, even the minor manifestations of it are abnormal and injurious. All problems of the individual and of the social group are more or less interrelated.

Thus the problem of the development of a normal social group is bound up with the problem of the healthful development of the self; and all the problems of the relation of the individual to the group are important problems in mental hygiene.

It would not be in place here to give any outline of

lic school as the bulwark of the republic. When the realist calls attention to the stern fact that many conditions to-day seriously menace the welfare of society, that we seem unable to cope adequately with selfishness and even with that pseudo-education that paralyzes the intellect and makes learning difficult, and to the further fact that the dangerous elements in society, the slackers, the selfish, the incompetent, the criminal, as well as the delinquent, were a few years ago for the most part in the public schools, and that public education has not saved us from the menace of the worthless and combustible material in society, the answer is always better education, better methods, better selection of raw material for the higher schools, better education of the superior children.

Varied Methods.—When we reflect also on the fact that ever since we can remember we have had the public schools, one naturally asks whether our problems after all are not too difficult for present human knowledge and intelligence, or else whether we have attacked a wrong aspect of the subject and used a wrong method. Before the moral problems of society we seem helpless. The self-development and moral character of the individual somehow is as definitely and as fatally arrested as the intellectual development. Hence eugenics, some say, is the only remedy, together with adjustment to the conditions of present society, while the slow process of breeding is developing a new and better stock.

Others say that in the emotional and moral field better men and women are produced through conditioning the individual by endocrine balance, optimum diet, and other general conditions of hygiene, somatic and mental, together with right training in the broad sense. This

development. Furthermore this method involves the giving of positive training in the essentials of health and coöperation, in the sacrifice of individual interest for group welfare; training not in safety first for the individual so much as the safety of one's companions; and in general that training in normal democratic groups that more and more makes possible the prevention of accidents and social ills.

Social problems are not likely to be solved by negative methods. Those who trust to repression, punishment, vigilance in probing for graft and corruption, drastic legislation, fines, and other punishment for all offenders, may check evil movements and evil tendencies, but they never will raise society to the level of sound and permanent progress. By such methods the energy and genius and ability of society is wasted in the mere effort of attempting to enforce negative legislation. The usual tendency, however, is to negative methods. Such repressive methods have not achieved permanent success. Here again the one adequate method, equal to the gravity of the problems involved and giving promise of permanent progress, is the method of hygiene, the method of prevention, and training in positive creative social and political activity.

Social Education

On what do we depend to-day for law and order and the safety of society? Everybody knows the answer—knowledge, instruction, conventional education. In crises like the Great War, in confusion of purpose and method after the war, on every public occasion in times of peace, whenever we recount the means of public safety, we refer with complacency and confident pride to the pub-

Prevention.—This contribution is not only the content of hygienic teaching, but quite as much the attitude of hygiene, which is that of prevention, an attitude representing an asset in itself of prime importance. The method of prevention, usually a difficult one, and with little or no promise of spectacular glamor, is at once a scientific and objective method and the method of common-sense. It applies in little matters of everyday life as well as in the great problems of public welfare. In personal problems this method of hygiene is especially important.

The individual who defies the method of hygiene is foolish. The social group that ignores it is moronic. *The Fool's Prayer* by the poet Sill should be the petition of both: "

The ill-timed truth we might have kept—

Who knows how sharp it pierced and stung?

The word we had not sense to say—

Who knows how grandly it had rung?

Our faults no tenderness should ask,

The chastening stripes must cleanse them all;

But for our blunders—oh, in shame

Before the eyes of heaven we fall.

Earth bears no balsam for mistakes;

Men crown the knave, and scourge the tool

That did his will; but Thou, O Lord,

Be merciful to me, a fool! [p. 63.]

The practical man naturally may ask, is this method of hygiene possible? Although the preventive attitude is rare, stimulating examples are by no means lacking. All the practical hygienists who during the last twenty years have made possible the prevention of typhoid fever and many other diseases furnish illustrations.

And in the field of accident prevention, among recent instructive examples are those of Byrd and Lindbergh. The former preserved a reasonable condition of health among his men and brought them safely back in spite of the rigors of the Antarctic; the latter, completing his perilous journeys by airplane with amazing punctuality, has traveled perhaps 300,000 miles without a major accident. These are not the results of hazard and luck, but of tireless prevision, preparation, and prevention. Both these men are hygienists of the first order.

The Promise of Hygiene.—Since the study of the facts in regard to education and society shows that our efforts in the past have produced at best only inadequate results and the dangers to modern society are gravely serious at the present time, some drastic change seems imperative. The one hopeful promise to-day of an efficient gospel of peace and social health is that furnished by mental hygiene and the development of its attitude of prevention. This may well be considered in some detail.

The Hygiene of the Group

The fundamental conditions for the development and preservation of a normal social group are similar to those for the healthful development of the individual personality. A number of things are essential. These are based on certain fundamental psychological characteristics or tendencies. The outstanding ones are as follows:

1. Integration, the most important characteristic of the wholesome individual personality, is also the most significant characteristic of the normal social group. Except in groups organized for certain special purposes,

homogeneity is not desirable as a condition for integration. On the contrary, a great range of individual differences in the members adds immensely to the richness and ability of the group. The integration of such a group, however, is vitally important and it is effected by a common purpose and a common task.

2. Coöperation. When in human industry the discovery was made that two people working together can do more than the sum of the work of the same two individuals working separately, the beginning of the modern doctrine of industrial coöperation was made. In any social group coöperation of the different members of the group is essential for efficient and wholesome activity.

3. Individual power and responsibility and individual credit are also essential for efficiency and normal development of the group. Without these the group task does not become one's own individual task.

4. Equally essential, although not perhaps as clearly recognized, is the need of individual freedom. The individual members of a social group should each have freedom for choosing a task along the line of individual capacity, and freedom for development by training to such superiority that the individual may be able to contribute a significant social service.

Great educators have often expressed the view that each normal individual has some special ability that should be developed. Some hold that view to-day. Keyserling,²⁰ as one of the outstanding philosophers of this age, concerns himself with the practical tasks of life and emphasizes the development of one's individual capacities. Thus in a recent volume he says: "There is . . . only one true formulation of the problem of

life, that is, to develop those gifts which you have, such as they are, for the good." (p. 79.)

The freedom such a group guarantees is freedom for diversity of opinion and belief, free speech, and freedom for individual initiative for the public welfare.

5. Readiness to sacrifice individual interest for the sake of public welfare is always a characteristic of the normal social group.

6. Respect for group order and group authority are essential. These are embodied in the rules of the game for children and youth, and in the laws and regularly constituted authority of political social groups.

7. Training, mentioned above (4), for the development of superiority along the line of the different special abilities of the different members of the group, is essential for the permanent welfare of the group.

8. Although in times of stress and warfare the integrity and permanence of the group are usually augmented by the organized resistance to hostile forces outside the group, in times of peace and in the ordinary conditions of society the integrity and the permanence of the group are insured by the hygienic attitude, which averts disintegrating conditions and maintains coherence and solidarity by purposive activity in the performance of a significant group task to which all can contribute.

9. Again, as the result of all these characteristics of the normal democratic group, there is the general attitude of confidence pervading the group.

Confidence

The genesis of confidence in the child is simple. It is developed by normal activity in the doing of tasks and

by the success of actual achievement. Whether in the child in the home, the school, on the playground, or the patient in the sickroom, or the aged and defective, the same is true. Confidence is developed by actual doing and real success. This is the psychological basis of all the modern educational methods and of occupational therapy for the sick and the defective. Much the same is true of the social group.

Confidence in Industry.—The psychology of normal industry and business is an example. Productive activity, business and industrial, throughout a country is the condition of general confidence, and this confidence is in turn the condition of continued industry. In times of unemployment this normal cycle is replaced by a vicious circle. Lack of confidence palsies the wheels of industry, and general lack of industrial activity means unemployment; unemployment in turn conditions further lack of confidence. Restoration of confidence cannot be assured by legislative enactment nor by government decree. It is assured both in the individual and in the social group by purposive activity and productive achievement. Theoretically it may be noted that the remedy is simple, although infinitely difficult in practical application. If in times of unemployment some agency in the given country, the government, for example, could give suitable and sufficient employment for all workers and continue this long enough, confidence would be restored and the wheels of industry move again.

In both the individual and the social group, confidence usually means hopefulness, coöperation, persistence, integration, and a sense of validity.

Whenever in any social group suspicion and lack of

confidence in the leaders or in the work of the group occur, an explosion and drastic change, or else a general disintegration and social stagnation, are likely to result. This is true, whatever the size of the group, whether on the playground, or in the school, or in general industry or in social and political groups.

The "Chip on the Shoulder" Attitude.—Related to the attitude of suspicion is that of the individual who in popular phrase has a "chip on the shoulder." This is likely to grow out of the attitude of suspicion, but it is different. Usually it combines other aspects, especially that of irritability and the tendency to pick a quarrel. The injury that results from this attitude is primarily to the health of the individual who has it and indirectly to all the members of the social group that come in contact with the afflicted personality. The worst form of it in the individual is when it develops into suspicion of oneself and thus a mental conflict ensues. It is, as everybody knows, prevalent, not only among private individuals, but among politicians, diplomats, and not infrequently among public officials. Of course it is closely connected with the desire to blame some one, and in the life of social groups, large and small, it plays a great rôle. Whenever this attitude becomes general in a country, a financial or commercial crisis is at hand, and, as is well recognized, when business is stagnant the trouble is general suspicion and such general fear that no one dares to branch out in any new project or investment. Thus in hard times and conditions of dull business it is commonly said that what is needed is a general application of the mind cure.

Group Leaders

Especially important for the development of a normal social group is the leader in control. Throughout all history different kinds of leaders have appeared.

First of all are the tyrants that have so often controlled social groups, large and small, in the past. Their place has been taken in the present by dictators who have dominated states and by martinets who have exercised their petty rule in smaller groups, political, industrial, and domestic. In spite of the long story of injustice that has resulted, much progress and some excellent results have come from the wisdom and efficiency often shown by this class of leaders.

The second class of leaders are those who dominate the group by their own strength and wisdom, but have regard for the welfare of the members of the group. They are, at their best, wise, beneficent, efficient executives, having magnanimous and often fatherly regard for the welfare of the individual members as well as devotion to the task of the group. They dominate all activities with conscientious responsibility. In extreme form they are often called benevolent despots. In the smaller social groups, especially groups on the playground, in boys' camps and often in the schools, these leaders are usually chosen because they are upright, strong, have attractive manners, and, by their pleasing personalities, can persuade the members of the group to yield to rules, conventions, and to the desires and will of the leader. With such leaders a large measure of happiness and group success is assured, but from the point of view of healthful development of the individual and the hygiene of the social group,

they are not the best leaders and often rob the group members of their legitimate responsibility.

The third class of leaders are those that do not attempt to dominate the group, but merely integrate the different superiorities of the different members for the common group purpose, and withal give freedom for initiative and the development of individual superiority among the members. Perhaps the best illustration is that of the best leaders in the amateur team sports.

In industry and business and statecraft the leaders are apt to be of our second class, if not of the first. A few of this third class, however, occasionally appear and are marked men because of their rare ability for democratic leadership. One noteworthy example, apparently both in education and statecraft, is Elihu Root.

Passive Group Members.—It should be noted that we are concerned here with groups of normal individuals organized for education and the active doing of tasks. Other members of a group, to be sure, may often have social significance. The baby in his cradle, the senescent in his armchair, and the passive moron, all have a social stimulus value that may sometimes make a significant contribution. The relation, however, of such defective or passive members to the group is another story with which we are not concerned here.

The Aristocratic Fallacy

The idea that biology requires an aristocratic constitution of society, the writer believes with Jennings and Myerson, is fallacious. This fallacy is based on the old idea of a rigorous law that like produces like, that intellectuals produce intellectuals, geniuses produce geniuses, and mediocrity produces mediocrity, a conception dis-

proved by the facts shown by genetic studies. Jenoings has summarized what genetics indicates in regard to the constitution of human population in the following quotation:¹⁸

In any fairly large sample of a human population, whatever its average status, whatever the uniformity resulting from the way it is selected, there is reason to expect that in the next generation marked inequalities will appear, physical, temperamental, intellectual, moral. There will be a few that are much superior to the rest, a few markedly inferior, and in the great intermediate mass a strong differentiation in tastes and aptitudes. The human species, reproducing biparentally, is constituted like the bodies of many organisms that have a high power of regeneration. From any limited portion, even if relatively uniform, there can be reproduced all the different parts, adapted to different functions; can be reproduced the entire social organism, with all its differentiations. The "classes" do not perpetuate themselves as such. From the higher, many lower are produced; from the lower, many higher. From the great mediocre group are produced more of the higher than the higher group itself produces; and more of the lower than the lower group itself produces. [p. 181.]

Without denying that aristocratic social groups are often wholesome, a democratic group seems to be the biologically natural group, and hence the most desirable for the preservation and wholesome development of society. In any case training in a democratic group is what is needed in preparing for service in the democratic experiment now being carried on in this country.

Such, as stated above, are the conditions of the normal democratic social group. Fortunate are those individuals who belong to such normal groups. Fortunate are the children and youth who are educated in them. Especially fortunate is the state or nation whose citizens have been

trained in such groups, and which is itself a social group in which conditions approximate this democratic ideal.

The Aims of Hygiene

In an unstandardized world mental hygiene does not attempt standardization. When nature is democratic, mental hygiene does not expect to develop aristocrats. It does not, in any social group, mistake equality for freedom. It does not expect that the acquisition of skill in a special subject will transfer and produce skill in a far different subject. It does find, however, that the generic attitudes developed by achievement in most subjects do transfer and render easier the performance of tasks in other subjects. Hence it stresses the importance of training in really democratic social groups.

Group Training

Some will maintain that neither group training nor individual training transfers. Spearman,²⁸ for example, finds no significant evidence that the group training in team sports of English youth enhanced the coöperation and group loyalty of the soldiers in the World War; and he casts doubt on the supposed truth of Wellington's words that Waterloo was won on the fields of Eton. (p. 41.) No adequate study of the influence of training in small social groups has been made. Here it is hard to get definite proof. Observation seems to have furnished some evidence. The reason so little tangible evidence can be cited apparently is because so little training of this kind has been given and the results observed, and because where it has been given, as in the team sports and the like, frequently unfortunate training in the home and competition in the school have outbalanced or annulled it.

One other form of evidence of the value of social training should be considered. In recent years a vast amount of money has been spent for reëducation of failures and nervous and mental patients who have gone from the schools to hospitals and sanitariums. It is worth while to consider the wisdom that has been learned in the reëducation of the mentally disordered. Long experience in multitudes of hospitals and sanitariums has given evidence that the training acquired in them does transfer to the world outside when patients are discharged. The content of this in part has been given by Villinger in substance as follows: ³²

1. The creation of a proper self-confidence. Most of those suffering from a mental disorder have some sort of a feeling of inferiority, their overesteem of themselves, self-conceit, and the like, are only compensations for this sense of inferiority.
2. Physical and mental discipline, regular training against weakness of every kind. [We may add here the best of this training is what has already been emphasized, the doing of a significant task and the meeting of difficulties.]
3. Habituation to the use of time, conscientious fulfillment of duty and the like. [This again it should be noted, is liable to be overdone, and habits of pedantry and morbid conscientiousness developed unless the training centers about the doing of something significant, purposive activity.]
4. Careful avoidance of actual or apparent preference or partiality toward any individuals.
5. The combating of all tendencies toward isolation, by membership in a larger group of companions of the same age.
6. Responsibility in the hands of an expert educator, a mental hygienist or psychiatrist, when such mentally precocious and pedantic psychopaths have outgrown the level of the home and its educational influence and thus have lost their stability and mental anchor.

These essentials of success in reëducation are in substance precisely what can be followed by teachers and parents, and they are of as great value in prevention of disintegration and mental disorder as they are in their cure. For special training dependence must be chiefly on the family, the school, and the varied occupations of industry.

The Family.—The manifold errors of parents, shown by educators and mental hygienists in recent years, and the many defects in modern life, have perhaps dulled the interest of people in the significance of the family as the central factor in education and the natural social unit. However great all these deficiencies, the family nevertheless at its best is an instructive example of the normal democratic social group.

If we take for illustration what is often called the old-fashioned family, with, let us say, half a dozen children, many significant features of the normal social group are shown. In such a family the task that integrates the group is purposive activity for the welfare of the family. The parents have allotted each child some little task, for which the child is himself responsible, to be done for the common welfare. These tasks naturally vary with the age and ability of the different children; but the doing of them gives opportunity for individual and social success, for excellence in the performance that wins credit and praise from the parents, and often for a large amount of freedom and initiative.

The function of the parents in such a family is not merely to control and guide and furnish food and clothing and the like, but also to allot these family tasks to the individual children and to integrate the services of the different members for the common welfare of the family.

Excellent concrete illustration of such a family group has been given by Mrs. Gilhreth.³³ Even the youngest child had his little task of pulling back the bedclothes in the morning, and each contributed something, according to his ability, for the common weal. Plenty of such illustrations might be cited, and the zest of the task and the significance of it will be recalled by many adults to-day who were fortunate enough in childhood to belong to such families. One man, for example, recently told me of the pride that he took as a child in his own little task, which happened to be that of washing a flight of stairs. For this he was individually responsible; and he performed it with such zest and devotion that he won his mother's praise to the effect that no one had ever been able to clean the stairs as well as this boy.

In the family at its best neither parent nor child attempts to dominate the group. There is no petty tyrant nor neurotic martinet, but the parents do attempt to co-ordinate the different activities for the common purpose of home welfare.

The great opportunity for social training of the individual child in the family group and the aid to personality furnished by the family task, individual and social, has never been adequately described and appreciated.* The common family fault of robbing children of their tasks, of their right to take responsibility in doing them, and of the freedom they should be granted, makes the value of the democratic family group stand out as the more significant by way of contrast. This opportunity in the home for elementary social training is one of many features that have made the family the central factor in education.

The School as a Social Group.—We have always, as noted above, looked upon the school as the bulwark of democracy. It will hardly, however, become that until in addition to instruction in patriotism it gives also actual social training.

Since Kerschensteiner¹³ made his remarkable experiment in German schools with his method of organizing a community of workers, *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, in different subjects, or even perhaps with the whole school as a working group, a number of schools in this country have tried a more or less similar plan. The school as a social group represents the state in miniature. Every school in the country might well be a democratic social group giving real democratic training.

In the school as a social group, or in special groups within the school, training in the relation of the individual to the group should be given. At present we have not sufficient knowledge to enable us to determine just what the training should be, but the studies of this subject now being made are likely soon to give results of great practical value. Of the many studies of this kind a single one may be noted for illustration, that made recently by Hartsborne and May.¹⁴ These investigators used various tests of actual behavior with a large number of school children, studying the subject of service—the tendency to work for self as against the tendency to work for others. The tests used for service were in substance:

(1) a test to see if a child would prefer to help his class win a prize or to compete for an individual prize; (2) a test to determine whether a child would vote that certain money belonging to the class should be spent for the class, or that it should be used for some philanthropic cause, or that it should be distributed to individuals in the class; (3) a test to deter-

mine whether a child would work harder in learning a novel task when there was a social motive, or when there was a chance for individual gain; (4) a test to determine whether or not a child would share the contents of a kit which had been given him with some needy children whom he did not know; (5) a test to determine if a child will collect pictures, stories, or jokes for children in unfortunate circumstances; (6) a test to determine whether a child will work more arithmetic examples when stimulated by the motive of individual gain or by the motive of group gain. [p. 36.]

These investigators found that a child's friends, his classroom code, his school adjustment, and the example of his parents are related with tendencies to be of service; but have not found such relations with age, intelligence, and sex.

The Great Social Problems

The fundamental problems of society have manifold phases, the essential ones in part as follows: Can society provide for its own preservation and healthful development? Can human intelligence devise adequate means for using the products of its own knowledge and the inventions of its own genius without destroying its own life and health? Can it, for example, adequately utilize its means of navigating the air for peaceful purposes, or will it utilize them for the destruction of its own cities and commerce? Can it devise means of adequately enforcing the laws and regulations necessary for its own preservation? Can it grant the freedom necessary for individual initiative, for artistic creation, for the inventions of genius, and for individual education and happiness, without that degeneration into the license of anarchy that destroys the products of creative activity and permanent progress? This problem is one that concerns

the health and existence of civilization itself; and to this brief attention with a single concrete illustration may well be given.

In other words, can civilization use the products of its own genius without destroying itself? More concretely, in a machine age like this, has society the intelligence and ability to use its knowledge and inventions sanely? Many eminent men have considered this problem. It is still a mooted question. Without any attempt at discussing the problem, far less of solving it, we may, however, come to closer quarters with it by taking the special case of automobile traffic.

The Automobile and Patriotism

Apparently this affords opportunity to make a fairly satisfactory test, for the machines are so excellent, so many are in use at the present time—according to a recent estimate at least one automobile for every five of the population—and all members of society have direct personal interest in the manner of their use. Of course we must wait some years before the results of any test can be fairly determined. Results obtained to-day would look bad for society; for the outstanding facts would be the great number of deaths caused by accident, the vast multitude of those maimed and injured in body and mind, and the amazing attitude of society, the complacency, psychic blindness, and indifference of the American people to these evils incident to motor traffic. If such fatalities resulted from a war indefinitely prolonged, pacifists and the most conservative patriots would denounce all this in every city and town as an intolerable condition.

On August first, 1930, Registrar Parker of Massachusetts made a significant comparison in part as follows:

In the full twelve months of 1929 there were 777 automobile fatalities on Massachusetts highways; in the battle of New Orleans 700 British soldiers were left dead. Between January 1, 1903, and noon yesterday the number of persons slain in motor accidents in the streets of our cities and on our roads about the state reached a grand total of 9,915. Compare that with the bloodiest single day in the Civil War, the day of Antietam. The dead and wounded on both sides numbered more than 23,000, divided almost equally between the two armies. Yet the total of the actually slain for both Union and Confederate troops was about 4,700, less than half our grand total for the automobile in twenty-seven years and seven months.

The one difference is that a battle or an earthquake brings home the facts in a single horrifying shock, while these highway fatalities come a few at a time week after week. But how they do count up!

The most adequate collection of statistics is that furnished by the Travellers Insurance Company. They are based on monthly figures furnished by forty states and careful mathematical calculation for the remaining states. From this report the figures given below for the entire country are cited. They furnish also the most impressive comparisons. There were 50,510 members of the A.E.F. killed in action or died of wounds during eighteen months of the World War. There were 50,900 persons killed in automobile accidents in the eighteen months ending with the close of 1930.

The loss and sadness of it all can not be told. Employ, if you will, all the heartrending vocabulary of the pacifist in depicting the horrors of war, the pathetic story is still inadequate; for the victims are largely women

and children; and no associations of heroic death and self-sacrifice mitigate the tragedy. Weigh in the scales, if you can, the resulting mental anguish, yet the outcome is still more grievous, because besides the mourning of bereaved friends is the story, sometimes heartbreaking, of those unfortunate enough to be the innocent cause of the often unavoidable accidents.

Monuments on Broadway, New York, to those who have lost their lives by reckless driving; Massachusetts' memorial every Monday recounting the names of her citizens and her children who have lost their lives the preceding week; and the depressing story of the details in individual cases; all this weekly renewed tale of seemingly needless but apparently inevitable tragedy has not sufficed to stop the ever renewed procession of victims. Again the directors of automobile vehicles have pointed out the danger periods of the season, the days for special caution, and the occasions of special danger, and appealed to the spirit of self-emulation, noting any improvement in the record and urging drivers to do still better. Appeal has been made also to the American sense of humor, urging all drivers: "Better ride a little slower in your own car than make a road record in the ambulance." On the bridge at Turner's Falls, Massachusetts, the newcomer is greeted with the words: "Drive slow and see our town. Drive fast and see our jail." And automobile folly has been satirized; but all in vain.

Of course the tragic results of automobile accidents cannot adequately be expressed in figures, but these are impressive. For the year 1930, 32,500 persons were killed, 962,325 injured.

The total for the five-year period ending in 1930 was 1,41,041. The total for fifteen years was 282,799. Deaths

from 1921-1925 increased 69 per cent over the preceding five-year period. Deaths from 1926-1930 increased 59 per cent over the preceding five-year period. Deaths in 1930 were 298 per cent greater than they were in 1916, fifteen years ago. "What of the next five years?"

This is the carnage of war in times of peace. And in this warfare there is no armistice.

With such peril and sorrow incident to the use of automobiles, a natural inference is that if a remedy is to be provided it must be as drastic and thoroughgoing as those used in war time to bring about peace. In a great country like this, what are the conditions that bring war to a close? In the most general terms these are three: patriotism, coöperation of everybody for the common end, and extensive study of adequate means and methods by the best wisdom of the country.

Patriotism has for so many generations been associated with warfare that, like guns and forts and slaughter, we think of it chiefly in connection with war. It is not likely to be considered very seriously in connection with the occupations and duties of peace. Much less is it likely to be generally developed and practiced in times of peace. For the present, as a universal vital moving force, it seems to be out of the question except in times of war.

It is conceivable, however, that something might happen: for example, the slaughter by this "instrumentality of danger" might become so appalling, the reckless driving and disregard of regulations and signals so inexcusable, and the loss of children and men and women of superior ability and wisdom so intolerable that a wave of patriotism might sweep over the country. In any case, for the sake of the argument and to make our illustration

clear, this may be imagined. If we make this assumption, what would be the result? In part this is easily conceived.

A general result would be that the attitude of patriotism, which means readiness to sacrifice individual interest for public welfare, would become universal; that the attitude of coöperation also would extend to all classes; and that a serious attempt to study the problem would be made by competent persons. More concretely, the words on every one's lips would be: This slaughter of children and American citizens must cease; and we will make every sacrifice necessary to that end. The result in the different classes especially concerned would be in part as follows:

The pedestrians as well as the motorists would share in this attitude of patriotism and coöperation and be ready to make every effort, not only to reduce the 30 per cent of accidents for which now they are deemed responsible, but also to avoid every risk from the reckless drivers. They would be ready to check their usual haste and to sacrifice their time for the public welfare, and even to sacrifice the impulse to self-assertion, and would take no risk even when they had the right of way. When one starts out in the morning resolved to have no accident, however many fool drivers one may meet, it is usually possible to do so by regarding signals, by avoiding congested corners, and by many little devices and the sacrifice of time. Of the pedestrians killed in 1930, 20.1 per cent were children playing in the streets, 24.9 per cent were persons crossing between intersections. Most, at least, of these could be prevented.

The effect upon the motorists would be equally great. Passengers, in their attempt to be patriotic, would re-

frain from talking to drivers or in any way distracting them. Drivers would recognize the great responsibility they have assumed and resolve to follow regulations, respect the rights of others, and take no chances. They too would be ready for the sake of the public welfare to sacrifice time, and even their own rights, and the alluring tendency to drive faster and faster. Policemen stationed at the entrance of large cities would remind drivers of the patriotic aim.

Those charged with the regulation of automobile traffic would do precisely what they are doing at the present time, but more thoroughly. They would attempt to grant licenses only to those who have sufficient practice and skill in driving automobiles. In one respect, however, a radical change would be made. They would be granted authority to make regulations necessary for public safety. Instead of proceeding on the principle that all persons who have sufficient skill are entitled to licenses unless serious defect, mental or physical, is shown, quite a different principle would be adopted; in substance that no one should be granted a license who does not possess positive qualifications for driving safely. Such qualities include poise, self-control, carefulness, power of continued attention, good judgment, regard for the rights of others, and respect for regulations, together, of course, with the negative qualifications of freedom from habits of intoxication, haste, daydreaming, showing off, as well as freedom from physical and mental defects that would incapacitate the individual.

A body of the best experts, as during the World War, would make special studies of methods used in different states, the different systems of signals, the problem of standardization of common rules for the whole country,

the best tests for drivers, and all helpful devices, physical and mental causes of accidents, the best methods of training drivers, schools for drivers, and all the significant conditions of automobile traffic.

All this, of course, will be called Utopian, but on the basis of our premise that patriotism had become universal it would be the natural result. Furthermore, one who accepted the privilege granted by a license to drive an automobile would by that very act become in a sense a public servant charged with responsibility to protect children and his fellow citizens. Thus this radical change due to the prevailing patriotism, which insists that whoever would drive an automobile must give evidence of high character as well as ability, would make the position one of trust and responsibility. To hold the license of an automobile driver would be a badge of honor, *prima facie* evidence of high character and reliability.

Whether such a revolution in general public character will ever occur is very doubtful. If it does not, the natural inference is that our civilization is not marked by sufficient ability and intelligence to control its own invention of motor vehicles. If, on the other hand, it should occur, certain other results would come also. The fact that all young people are interested in automobiles and the fact that no one would have permission to drive one who could not give this evidence of high character, intelligence, and self-control, would put a great premium upon self-training by all those boys and girls who desired to gain this privilege. The value of such a general condition would be of the highest; so that merely as a factor in educational training, the automobile would be an asset to civilization, instead of a menace as it bids fair to be if present conditions continue to grow worse.

No adequate study of this problem can be made without taking account of what may be called the psychology and psychopathology of automobile traffic. Among the traits of character and human impulses that enter into the problem, as already suggested, are: the desire to show off, to be superior, the impulse to assert one's rights, the gambling impulse to take a chance, overconfidence, conceit, selfishness, and the attitude of haste. On the other hand, are the sense of inferiority, lack of confidence, and fear.

Automobile Psychoses.—Cases of fear, of which Dr. Briggs gave illustration at the recent International Congress on Mental Hygiene,³ are probably more common than is supposed. How, indeed, can an intelligent person who knows the facts help being anxious, if not afraid? Even the most careful and efficient drivers can never be safe from the person who is intoxicated, the gambler who takes a chance, and the moron. Briggs has found cases in hospitals where the person had had a chronic fear of accident for months.

Neurotic drivers and pedestrians alike are dangerous. So also are those persons who have never learned to control their emotional impulses and are liable to act thoughtlessly on the spur of the moment. All persons may sometimes do foolish things, and this may happen when driving one's car in a crowded street; for extreme fatigue and great emotional strain may incapacitate a person as well as intoxication.

Apparently the number of accidents is in large measure due to the general attitude of haste among people of this country. This is suggested by the fact that in Rhode Island, with a reduction of speed during the first ten

months of the year 1930, a reduction of deaths occurred also.

The Speed Mania.—Perhaps no better illustration of the peculiar temptation to pathological forms of function in modern life could be cited than the relation of the individual to his automobile. An extreme example of this is shown in the speed habit acquired by certain individuals, the auto mania or craze for high speed that sometimes possesses a man.

A noteworthy example of this is furnished by the confession of M. Jules Rochat of Paris, killed some years ago. Rochat has described how this speed mania took control of him, how it became an infatuation, and the urge was always for more speed, which finally plunged him into an abyss in the Tyrol. In his diary he declared that he realized the danger to himself and to others, but could not resist the temptation to go faster and ever faster; and he adds, "Mine is not an isolated case, hut common to a myriad chauffeurs, experienced men of the world like myself."

With Rochat's friends we may ask how this could be possible and how a sterling man of sense could fall a prey to such a mania. Every man of strong interest and enthusiasm, every mental worker who can work with a strong head of interest and concentrated attention can understand this temptation and knows something of the impulse in mental activity to work faster and faster, and the experience of becoming the victim of one's own mental activity. The contrast between the normal and the pathological, although the two may shade into each other and the normal illustrate and enable us to understand the pathological, nevertheless is a sharp contrast, because in the normal, reason always keeps control,

and, to continue the figure of the automobile, it is always possible for the driver to drop back from high speed into low. In the pathological, the control of reason is gone and the individual finds he cannot change from dangerous speed activity to the optimum of hygienic work. Perhaps the penalty for speeding should be the psychopathic hospital.

The problem of automobile safety challenges modern society. A high level of intelligence is necessary to solve it: to perfect proper mechanical devices, proper safeguards, proper rules and regulations, proper methods of signaling; to frame proper laws, psychologically effective punishments, and the like, as well as proper standards of skill and of physical and mental health, and also suitable tests to determine those who meet such standards of fitness.

The laborious attempts, however, to check the evil have been pathetically futile. They furnish mass illustrations of the low level of human intelligence and the weakness of human self-control. The inadequate methods of education employed to train motorists and the public again emphasize the limitations of human ability. This problem of motor traffic is far from solution. That no adequate study of this problem by a body of the best experts, in coöperation with competent psychologists, mental hygienists and psychiatrists, has yet been made, is surprising. It offers fruitful opportunity for research.

Study of this concrete subject by the individual is fruitful also because it is representative of the problems of modern life. Like any one of them, it involves the deeper problems of human behavior, of better life, and of normal personality. Driving your own auto-

mobile in city or country may furnish one of the best means for self-discovery and for determining the conditions of your own ego. The social problem of the automobile is as difficult as the individual problem of the ego. Many have studied each. None have solved either.

It will help, however, toward ultimate solution if it is recognized that this problem is part of the general problem of prevention—in hygiene, preventive medicine, preventive pedagogy, and preventive morals. Proper development of the preventive attitude is rare in this country. To take time to prevent trouble is apt to be repugnant. One who attempts to prevent accident or disease is likely to appear as a killjoy and a crank. We have little preventive legislation, preventive economics, and preventive education. The psychological conditions of automobile accidents are, as noted above, those that usually cause lack of prevention—inattention, haste, lack of emotional control, forgetfulness, the responses of a divided personality, carelessness of others, disregard of lawful regulations, ignorance combined with the conceit of knowledge—the same conditions that cause lack of judgment and failure everywhere. Training in the preventive attitude of scientific hygiene would be vastly helpful here as well as elsewhere. But we live like children, taking our daily chance without prevision and prevention.

The Stubborn Facts.—The figures, of which illustrations have been given, are stubborn. If an individual should resolve to face the facts for twenty-four hours, and an arrangement could be made to have a statement given by radio of each fatal accident that occurs, the report of a death would come every fifteen minutes throughout the

day and during the long hours of the night. To continue this would be intolerable. The rate is 100 each day; and there is no truce on holidays. Yesterday (December 25, 1930), was Christmas, but death rode with Santa Claus; and this morning the Associated Press reports the results, 118 killed.

The reason for this, put bluntly, is human inertia. We all know drivers who never have had a serious accident and never are likely to have one, unless they are run into by a person intoxicated, defective, or incompetent. There are plenty of competent and reliable persons to drive motors. Why should others be allowed to drive?

If this slaughter is to be reduced to a minimum, three things mentioned above at least are necessary: an adequate study of all phases of the problem by competent experts including the best psychologists and psychiatrists; a better system of uniform regulations and tests with higher standards; and a general development of everyday patriotism.

The amazing thing is the indifference of the American people to all this. If at the close of the World War some one had prophesied that for the eighteen months ending 1930 more people in the United States would be killed in automobile accidents, *than the total members of the A.E.F. killed during eighteen months of the World War*, who would have believed it?²⁵ If it had been stated also that there would not be sufficient patriotism in the United States to stop this slaughter or even to reduce it and that probably for the next five years, the period 1930-1935, the fatalities would be even greater, and that the protests of both pacifists and the most ardent patriots would be so dulled that the Amer-

ican public would take this condition complacently, what soldier or citizen would have credited the statement?

When such are the facts, is it not time for a new consecration to everyday patriotism? Is it not time for a new American Legion dedicated not only to the memory of past heroism, but also to a development of patriotism that will prevent bloodshed in times of peace and protect men, women, and children while doing their daily tasks? A new training in preparedness is needed. During the World War we were strangely lax and indifferent about this. Some excused their attitude on the ground that preparedness was a condition favoring war and that lack of preparedness tended to preserve peace. In the new preparedness now needed no such excuse is available, for its aim would be to prevent slaughter and suffering.

This most complex problem that has baffled negative and punitive methods can be solved, as we have seen, by the positive preventive methods of hygiene; and its solution in this way would illustrate the training possible in social behavior and everyday patriotism and the opportunity for education afforded in many industrial and social activities.

The stern facts are these: A great invention with improvements constantly being made, a reduced cost of motor vehicles that has brought their use within the means of most people—a vastly important contribution to happiness, social life, industry, and efficiency in business; but along with this an inability to use these machines without a constant loss of life and health that has continued to grow worse to such an extent that what seems to be the most thoroughgoing study of the present condition, concludes by calling it "worse than war."

Thus the academic problem with which we began becomes a question of ordinary human regard for the welfare of men and women in their daily work and the safety of children and the strangers within our gates. The result of this brief survey of the latter problem throws a sinister light on the probable solution of the former.

The Human Goal

The larger problem, whether human intelligence will be able to use its inventions sanely, is primarily a question of mental hygiene. Will hygiene prevail extensively enough to prevent the unfortunate attitudes that have already developed in this machine age? Fortunately already the hygienic attitude is developing in industry, and special study of the mental hygiene of different occupations is now made. The importance of this has recently been emphasized by Einstein in what he calls the ugly song that he sings. He is no pessimist, but in his words to students in California he emphasized the human goal and the need of mental hygiene. He says,²

Why does this magnificent applied science which saves work and makes life easier bring us so little happiness? The simple answer runs: Because we have not yet learned to make sensible use of it. In war it serves that we may poison and mutilate each other. In peace it has made our lives hurried and uncertain. Instead of freeing us in great measure from spiritually exhausting labor, it has made men into slaves of machinery, who for the most part complete their monotonous long day's work with disgust and must continually tremble for their poor rations.

It is not enough that you should understand about applied science in order that your work may increase man's blessings.

Concern for the man himself and his fate must always form the chief interest of all technical endeavors, concern for the great unsolved problems of the organization of labor and the distribution of work in order that the creations of our mind shall be a blessing and not a curse to mankind. Never forget this in the midst of your diagrams and equations. [p. 1.]

Conditions of Permanence

Leaving the ultimate problem of civilization as at present unsolvable, the conditions of relative group permanence may be noted. The permanence of a social group, large or small, depends on the degree to which it is based on sound psychological principles. Human nature is always with us and can never be safely ignored by society. This truth was illustrated years ago by Hawthorne in his story of *The Earth's Holocaust*.¹⁵

It is in substance as follows:

Once upon a time the world became so full of artificial creations, conventional customs, class rights and prerogatives, official, honorary, and group distinctions, degrees, titles, privileges, stars, garters and blue ribbons, that for many life became intolerable. So a group of reformers devised the plan of taking all of these superfluous products and artificial distinctions out on a western prairie, where no harm could come, and burning them up. This was done; and in their zeal the reformers not only carried out their original project of destroying what was superfluous and artificial, but also threw all forms of literature into the flames, burning even the books of the great writers and the Bible itself. Then when all was over and the reformers felt the exaltation of a righteous job performed, a cynic who stood by remarked briefly: "Man's heart remains the same and all these things will soon appear again."

Such negative methods have often been tried, but have usually been futile. A few years ago something like Hawthorne's parable came true when Communism was introduced into Russia. A clean sweep was made. Capital and class distinctions were abolished and all people given equal rights and privileges.

The Social Experiment in Russia

In this largest social experiment in the world at the present time it is noteworthy that beginning as Communism with the abolition of capital and classes and distinctions, it has already yielded to human psychology; and, while still retaining a remarkable degree of equality extending even to petty privileges, it has readmitted capital with its machinery of banks and the like, and re-established to a degree, it is reported, the differential wage, with pay according to the skill and efficiency of the worker. Thus to this extent it is no longer Communism, but state socialism.

Communism both regards and disregards human psychology. Its weakness lies in its disregard of personality differences, its check on individualism and on the desire for individual freedom of initiative, and, when combating capitalism, its use of violent negative methods in stirring up trouble. Its strength lies largely in its appeal to human desire for a social task, for equality, and for assurance of the validity of one's goal.

The great social task in Russia to-day is the carrying out of the Five Year Plan of industrial production and education. An interesting account of this is given in the new Russian primer recently translated into English.¹⁷ This was prepared for school children of ages twelve to fourteen. It shows the bright side.

This is not only the story of the Five Year Plan for adults, but a "Little Five Year Plan" for the children is also given; and concrete tasks are suggested for them, a few of which are as follows:

To gather ashes for fertilizing fields. Each troop of Pioneers should gather two tons of ashes a year.

To destroy ten marmots a year in the regions infested by these animals; . . . to destroy all injurers on one fruit tree and on ten vegetables; to catch or destroy five rats and ten mice.

To build one starling house and two feeding houses a year; to raise the number of starling houses to a million and a half and of feeding houses to two millions. Birds are our allies: they will help us destroy parasites.

To destroy bedbugs, roaches, and flies in five hundred thousand houses. Each troop should clean up ten houses.

To teach the illiterate to read and write. Each troop should endeavor to wipe out illiteracy in its region. [p. 161.]

The author of this book, Mr. Ilin, stresses the educational side of the great plan they have devised to change nature and to change themselves. Of the enormous task of "building socialism" and of the zest of the work, he writes as follows:

All the figures have grown, all the tasks have multiplied. Every day the papers spur on the laggards. In every enterprise shock brigades are at work. One factory sends a challenge to another: which will do the task faster, which will do it better? [p. 157.]

Are we, such as we are, fit for the new way of life? We know little; we have few engineers, few physicians, few scientists; half of us above eight years of age in the village cannot even read. In America only six per cent of the people are illiterate. We need factories not only to refine iron and steel. We also need factories to refine people. [p. 158.]

The educational appeal of this remarkable book to teachers, Professor Counts notes in his foreword:

"The American teacher will be forced to put to himself the question: Can we not in some way harness the school to the task of building a better, a more just, a more beautiful society? Can we not broaden the sentiment of patriotism to embrace the struggles which men must ever wage with ignorance, disease, poverty, ugliness, injustice?" (p. ix.)

In a republic, of course, it is just as important to give children and youth actual training in the sacrifice of the individual for the sake of the group, in doing justice, and in coöperation in group tasks, as it is in a socialistic state.

The Unemployed

Since, as we have seen, a task is a prime essential for the mental health of each individual, a condition of unemployment such as so frequently exists both in this country and Europe must cause grave forebodings. The problem is naturally suggested whether an educational preventive might not well be tried. From the point of view of hygiene the individual should be trained to seek a job for himself.

Hygiene is interested in the individual's task because it is an essential for health. The individual is likely to be interested in it primarily because it is the means of earning wages. It would be well if the youth on leaving school should have a due respect for self, a definite conception of the autotelic value and the need of a task for the health of one's own personality, and also a clear idea of the need of helping others with the knowledge that the greatest gift one can give to any-

body, pauper or millionaire, friend or enemy, is a worth while task of one's own.

With these things clearly in mind one will be able to seek a task for oneself when no job offers. From the point of view of hygiene it is suggested that education should make some provision for the unemployed, since in good times as well as hard times many of them are sure to be with us, most of them because they cannot find a job for which they are fitted, many because they fear action or have not the will to work, some of them because of what a clever humorist has suggested, the subtle fear that the secret of success is work. For all of these classes cities and states might well provide opportunity for further education; and since helping others without giving them a task to perform is always dangerous, it is suggested that if worse comes to worst, compulsory education with an unemployment wage for all unemployed adults would be better than the dole system.

By this means some of these would be fitted for a better job. Some might be cured of their fear of work. All would be helped to find a worth while task for themselves.

Democratic Training

Any intelligent person can observe the grave danger to-day from lack of group training and the dominance everywhere of criticism, controversy, and disruptive activities. The hope of society depends on the possibility of a new generation of school and college graduates trained to the practice of everyday patriotism in really democratic groups.

This training, as we have seen, can be given in the well organized family, in the school, and in certain

extracurricular activities, such as the team sports, and some of the spontaneously organized societies and clubs. Outside the school it can be given with excellent results in boys' and girls' camps, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and in similar organizations, if organized with this end in view.

Much training of the very best sort might be given in the various group activities of industry, society, and government. How extremely difficult this is, however, is suggested by our illustration of the problem of automobile traffic. If people generally were trained in the practice of hygienic group activity, this would, however, be possible. For special training we must depend chiefly at present on the family, the school, and organized social groups.

Such training should be really democratic. Mental hygiene warns against the fallacy of mistaking equality of opportunity and privilege for democracy. The test of a democratic group is freedom, not equality.

Equality not Freedom.—The equality of the members of a chain-gang is a poor substitute for individual freedom, even though all the members have equally good food and clothing, no class distinctions in the chains exist, and money can buy no favors. Such a group, however, is a tragic caricature of democracy.

Again and again the need of actual training in really democratic groups has been emphasized in this volume. At the adolescent period, group training of this kind is especially important. In democratic groups, as we have seen, one is trained to self-sacrifice and coöperation, constantly to give up one's own personal interest for the welfare of the group, and to work with others. One learns to work with those who have diverse opinions;

and especially important is the training in constructive, helpful association in place of blame, criticism, and disruptive activities.

The welfare of a democratic state depends on such training; but this comes, not by talk, not by instruction, however excellent, but only by the actual practice of group patriotism. The danger to any democratic state comes from the lack of such training of all youth. The schools and colleges give largely of instruction; but the youth go out usually with little democratic training. Then of these untrained youth, when they leave school, we demand the democratic virtues of self-sacrifice, co-operation, obedience to law, and respect for properly constituted authority.

Naturally perhaps, self-seeking, a critical attitude, the habit of blaming others, and a tendency to prejudice and controversy, are more likely to be formed.

The essentials may be put in a single paragraph.

The democratic ideal in its higher form is based, not on an abstract myth of human equality, made concrete in an equal share of human necessities and social privileges, but based rather on the psychological fact of profound individual differences.

The ideal democratic group to-day is one where each member of the group has the opportunity to become superior in something according to his special ability, and where the leader does not dominate the group but merely coördinates the different superior abilities for the common purpose of group welfare; or, to put it more simply, in the words attributed to the great Pasteur, a group where each has opportunity for initiative for the public welfare.

Although to-day the literary pastime of many social

and political writers seems to be to show the failure of democracy in politics and society, to speak of the failure of this higher form of the democratic ideal in education is absurd; for this ideal we have never really tried. Distinct advance, however, is shown in educational doctrine here because this newer democratic ideal rests on a sound psychological basis and presents an inspiring ideal both for the schools and for society. The application of this ideal in the schools has already begun.

SUMMARY

1. The hygiene of the individual personality is bound up with that of the social group.

2. The hygienic method of prevention is the one for insuring permanent social welfare.

3. What may be called the hygiene of the group depends on conditions similar to those of the hygiene of the individual.

4. Among the essential conditions of a normal hygienic group are: integration by a group task, freedom for individual initiative, individual responsibility, co-operation among the members and readiness to sacrifice individual interest for the welfare of the group, confidence involving a sense of the validity of the aims and methods of the group, and leaders who are really democratic.

5. In order to give freedom to the individual members, the group should be democratic.

6. Equality in sharing the necessities of life and in all privileges does not mean freedom.

7. To develop permanent larger groups of this democratic character training is necessary.

8. The natural agencies for democratic training are

the family, the school, normal groups in extra-scholastic activities, and the varied activities of industry.

9. The larger problem, whether society will be able to utilize the results of its own inventive genius without destroying itself, involves many factors.

10. As a single preliminary test of this problem, automobile traffic was chosen.

11. The results of the study of automobile traffic to-day give a sinister suggestion in regard to the probable solution of the larger problem.

12. No general inference, however, in regard to the larger problem is justified by the data now available.

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CHAPTER XV

THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSONALITY

ADOLESCENCE, as noted above in Chapter II, has always claimed attention. Primitive peoples and ancient civilization recognized the importance of this period. In modern times, ever since Rousseau pointed out that we are born twice, first as individuals, and second as members of society, the educational significance of adolescence has been recognized.

This is a focal point in education because it is a focal point in development. The wider genetic significance of the adolescent stage was recognized by G. Stanley Hall,²⁵ * and he suggested the theory that the variations in the curve of growth and development that occur at the nodal point about the age of six are the ripple marks of an old pubic beach when adolescence began at this early age. He hinted also at the possibility in the further evolution of the race of the postponement of puberty to a still more advanced age than it occurs now. However this may be, this eminent psychologist made a contribution of prime importance to the subject of adolescence and in his wider applications of the genetic method in many different fields. To-day the significance of adolescence for mental hygiene as well as education is becoming more and more clear, and every scientific study in the field of genetic psychology is indirectly a contribution to hygiene.

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acute disease seems increased; many disorders incident to development occur, but are likely to be outgrown with proper environment.

Again adolescence is a period of mental and moral variation and development. The reformers in the church, in the state, in education and industry, are young men and young women. Then for a time the individual sbakes off the fetters of convention and inertia; the possibility of discoveries and new activities for a time exists.

Observation and special studies indicate, as already suggested, that at the period of puberty and adolescence interest in self and observation of self are nascent. Thus, special studies in Germany,³⁴ based on the diaries, letters, essays, and the like of children, indicate that before puberty children give description of all possible external events, often very thoroughly and enthusiastically; but that few traces of any mention of one's own share in events or of one's own inner experiences appear; whereas during puberty and immediately after, a flagging of attention to the external world occurs, a sudden turning to the ego, and an advance of one's own opinions, feelings, volitions, a consideration of the self, which may degenerate to an extreme and pedantic self-analysis. (p. 166.)

According to these German students, not until puberty do the inner changes and the tumult in one's own breast call forth a tendency to give attention to one's own mental life. Then the conscious effort of making the study of one's own ego a definite aim, occurs in many youth.

New Social Interests.—Next to the interest in self is the dawning interest in society. Naturally enough

For parents and teachers two things are imperative: first, a knowledge of the characteristics of the adolescent period and a thoroughgoing understanding of the individual personalities of the youth under their guidance; second, a clear knowledge of sound educational objectives and of the mental hygiene of adolescence, with recognition of the supreme opportunity offered at this time for the wholesome development of the personality.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ADOLESCENCE

The characteristics of this stage of development have been made familiar by many writers since the classic work by G. Stanley Hall.²⁵ We have at this period a great influx of energy appearing in both physical and mental phenomena: a spurt of growth at the beginning, development of the heart and other organs, readjustment of the endocrine functions, reënforcement of the body against chronic disease; on the mental side new interests, new ambitions, new zest to meet life with its stern realities, and a new birth, especially in relation to society.

We have likewise the appearance of hereditary forces, although we know little about them. Injurious tendencies and an unfortunate heredity are likely to manifest themselves; whereas on the other hand, good stock and healthful strains appear as a background and defense of the individual in the adverse conditions of a threatening environment.

It is a period also of relative instability; old forms of reaction, old habits, are disturbed or broken up; new forms of behavior are developed. All kinds of aberrations and perversities may appear. Susceptibility to

intelligent girl were to reflect on what is involved in her statement, it might at least appear to her unseemly and rude to express so flippantly her approval or disapproval of any methods employed by the Deity in creating the world; but criticism of one's own opinions is not likely to be made until some remedy for egoism has been applied. Equally grotesque and extravagant ideas and statements might be multiplied. All this conceit and the like may, however, be largely a defense mechanism covering a sense of confusion and inferiority.

In some cases the manifestations of the developing ego are so genuine and unabashed that one wonders whether the expression may not represent quite a normal phase of self-development, although comparable in its naïveté and outspoken form to the exuberant vanity of some animals, or perhaps a moron who never gets enough of the satisfaction of exhibiting his own accomplishments. A typical case of this kind, a college girl, has been described for me by an acute observer, in substance as follows:

She fully believes herself a genius, an intensive judge of literature. It is her own hobby. The ease and readiness with which she expresses opinions of poems especially is startling to feebler minds. I think her ego is so natural, so constant and comforting, she has no thought of posing or artificiality. Her school and family before she came here have fostered this self-laudation, not only in matters of literature but of everything. No subject can be mentioned on which her opinion is not already formed.

The account adds that these opinions of callow youth are sweetly expressed in a cooing voice.

This self-satisfaction is part and parcel of the general zest of her young life. She has exuberant health, is ready

this new social birth at adolescence is apt to begin with a new attitude toward the other sex. For the boy, the girl instead of being a largely helpless creature with foolish behavior, and an object of indifference, now becomes an object of special attraction; and to the girl, the boy, instead of being an inferior individual intellectually and perhaps rough or brutal physically, now appears in a new light with attraction perhaps even in his strength and roughness. In any case normally there is a tendency to a new attitude and a new interest in the other sex, a tendency to heterosexuality. Together with this a new interest in society develops and a desire for social success.

Conceit and Sensitiveness.—In many cases apparently an increased growth of the ego occurs, in all cases perhaps a greater self-consciousness. At least in this nascent period of emotion, when the youth discovers the self, one becomes very sensitive about it and is likely to develop defense mechanisms against anything that even remotely threatens its integrity.

Parents and teachers become especially aware of the common conceit and tendency to omniscience. Whatever the cause, it is peculiarly trying to parents; it often seems to stop at nothing. Of all the grotesque manifestations of this attitude in the adolescent, few things are more amusing than their opinions in regard to the great questions of nature and of life. Nothing here seems too complex or too difficult for the adolescent to attempt to solve. Thus one girl writes that she approves of prohibition but does not approve of evolution. Such a statement would seem amazing, even in the exaggerated self-confidence of the adolescent, were it not that so many adults appear equally omniscient. If this

could send his photograph to England, writing beneath it the words, 'I bide my time.' " (p. 3.)

The more trustworthy biographies as well as the literature of pathology furnish manifold examples. Most important of all, however, for parent and teacher alike are the observation and study of the individual adolescents with whom they come in daily contact. One is bound to observe the proverbial omniscience and the exaggerated or assumed sense of importance in the adolescent. Conceit at adolescence is perhaps normal.

How widely this is recognized is illustrated by a story that has been going the rounds among military men, in substance as follows: A private in France during the war saw a soldier in khaki passing and called out,

"Hey, buddy, give me a light." The soldier accosted stopped and held out a lighted match. Raising his eyes to speak his thanks for the favor, the soldier saw the star of a brigadier general, and at once apologized,

"I beg your pardon, sir, I did not mean any disrespect, but I did not notice you were a general."

"That's all right," replied the general, "but you should thank God that I was not a second lieutenant."

The remedy for such a sense of omniscience and superiority is often the giving of still greater responsibility; and thus, as the adolescent learns more he knows less; and as the noncommissioned officer is promoted, his sense of inadequacy for the greater duties imposed upon him soon cures his conceit.

Where one's task can be freely chosen, like that of the artist, no sharp distinction between work and play exists. The attitude of conceit also is not very far removed from the play impulse. Both at least are sincere.

Santayana⁴² suggests that nothing could be more splen-

for any task to her liking, and in spite of difficulty in passing grades, is unabashed before any scholar, and withal continually exults in the pleasure of being alive. This is perhaps a pathological case, but if it is merely a psychosis of development one would be tempted to admire this autonomous living, however low the level; and precisely for such hypertrophy of the ego the storm and stress of adolescence sometimes affords the remedy; but as a matter of fact, probably at any stage between the hudding ego of the nursery and the tropical exuberance of this adolescent growth, arrest of development may occur and the ego take supreme control.

One other illustration from a very different class may be cited, a case where heredity and strangely unsuitable training combined to produce misfortune. The last emperor of Germany, William II, was an extreme case apparently of an adolescent suffering from physical defect, and hence a sense of inferiority, and compensation for this by a high level of intelligence and strong will. As often happens, however, in combating the sense of inferiority, according to his recent biographer, Emil Ludwig, William made unusual overcompensation; and represents in extreme form the overgrowth of the ego. "In reality," says Ludwig,³⁸ "the moral victory over his physique was his destruction."

Ludwig calls attention to the misfortunes as regards heredity and early training of this remarkable character and to the hypertrophy of his ego that resulted:

"One sees here how easily this youth could grow up into the conceited prince who, in his early days, used his own bust for birthday gifts, and one can appreciate how, while the old, old emperor was still alive and the crown prince losing his battle with death, this heir-presumptive

fundamental interests, and the development of the great social and altruistic impulses; all these mark the period as the great opportunity for acquiring the right attitude toward truth.

The adolescent desire for change and the opportunity to sample many subjects and many forms of activity in various occupations is a natural component of the great dominating impulse for discovering the truth. That this is normal and a condition of healthful mental development has long been recognized by wise educators. Thus the great preacher among the Pilgrim fathers, Robinson, in his masterly sermon on the eve of the departure for America stated emphatically that change of belief and the open-mindedness that enables one to accept truth from new sources is an essential condition of mental and moral health. To this we may add that the youth who know the truth and keep up with the times must have this attitude of the learner. Thus Lowell writes: ⁴⁵

New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward,
Who would keep abreast of truth.

AIMS AND METHODS IN ADOLESCENT TRAINING

The problem then is to adapt education at this period to an individual with such characteristics as have been mentioned. These great impulses and tendencies, with all they involve, should be considered in determining the training of youth. A few aims are vitally imperative. Like everything else of superior importance, in outline they are simple, although in practical accomplishment infinitely complex and difficult. The following are some of them.

didly sincere than the impulse to play in real life, to rise on the wave of every feeling and let it burst into the foam of exaggeration. He says:

Nor is this art of innocent make-believe forbid in the Decalogue, although Bible-reading Anglo-Saxondom might think so. . . . To embroider upon experience is not to bear false witness against one's neighbor, but to bear true witness to oneself. . . . Why should we quarrel with human nature, with metaphor, with myth, with impersonation; the foolishness of the simple is delightful. Only the foolishness of the wise is exasperating. [p. 138.]

Thus Santayana, with his keen insight into the natural and the real in human life, has suggested both the wholesome teaching of mental hygiene and the often unwholesome rules of conventional education and society.

What the adolescent needs to learn, and what he should develop loyalty to, is the reality of nature and of human nature, not a devotion to some artificial standard or conventional form of truth and honesty, not a slavery to a conventional and often provincial conscientiousness, but an honest regard for the natural impulses of sound human nature and a fidelity to the broad dictates of a sane mental regimen.

The Desire for Change.—Along with the desire for truth, at least as one of the conditions that give opportunity for its discovery, is the dominant desire for change. At this period, as we have noted, the individual youth, boy or girl, is subject to great change. The epoch-making physical changes extending even to the deepest springs of human nature, the development and functioning of the endocrine glands and sometimes even revolutionary changes in physical structure, together with the equally great changes in emotional impulses, mental activity,

a two-fold importance, first for its own sake and second for control of emotion.

As a matter of fact, adolescents, whether in school or college or outside of academic circles, instead of using reason, are prone to make emotional reactions and then, as already suggested, to rationalize them. One's environment, whether academic or industrial and social, presents innumerable situations that stimulate emotion. Many illustrations are given in the literature of education and mental hygiene. Concrete cases have been described by Williams⁶⁰ and others. Here again objective scientific training is vastly helpful; but whatever the subjects studied by the adolescent, whatever the environment of the boy and girl, they should be shown the grievous danger of emotional reactions and then of hunting up arguments to support one's position, and should receive training in right thinking.

In the courses in logic, psychology, education, mental hygiene, sociology and related subjects, the emphasis should always be placed on sound scientific thinking; and the common habit of rationalization of one's prejudices and beliefs should be judged as the most grievous form of failure. No mastery of conventional learning, no perfection in the mere content of knowledge in a given subject, can atone for this habit of false reasoning and this unscientific attitude. Such rationalization is not only a handicap to sound learning, but it is dangerous, both to the mental health of the individual and to the welfare of society.

School Debating.—Some of the academic activities might give training with special regard for this objective. For a single example, take the matter of school and college debating. From ancient times and especially from

Mental Health.—All the instruction and training should have regard to the development of mental health, not merely the individual tasks, not merely the reading and not merely the special courses in psychology and hygiene, but also the methods and discipline of the school of whatever kind it may be.

At this adolescent period, as at each preceding stage of development, an imperative aim is to preserve the integrity of the youth's personality, and to develop this healthfully at higher and higher levels. As already noted, concentrated attention, especially in doing a worth while task of one's own, is temporary integration; and much training in this is needed by the adolescent. This is the true safeguard of the personality, this the kind of defense needed. A variety of tasks, not only scholastic tasks but motor accomplishments, activities of various kinds, both industrial and social, are desirable.

Every adolescent, like every genius, should sooner or later have some great all-absorbing task, perhaps a life work, which will unify the many otherwise discordant new interests and activities of the youth. A worth while task of one's own choosing every adolescent desires. It is youth's legitimate right. The individual usually has some special ability. The insight into one's own capacity to do something well is likely to become more than an incentive, it may even become a driving force transforming the character of the individual.

Control of Emotion.—Adolescence is the nascent period for emotion, and the control of emotion becomes an aim of first importance. Emotion, as Plato taught, should be controlled by reason; hence the development of sound thinking and the guidance of one's activity by reason has

Social Training.—Another imperative aim is the development of social interests, right social attitudes and interests in general social movements, such as interests in organized philanthropy, positive effort for hygiene, public welfare, and the like.

Again there is the imperative aim of social success. The individual adolescent desires to do something really significant in the social groups of which one is a member. If he acquires the ability to render some service, that gives a reward to which no other is comparable. Every youth desires such opportunity, and nothing is more tragic, nothing perhaps more menacing to the mental health, than lack of opportunity and lack of ability to achieve social success.

Every boy and girl may well be trained to such superiority in something that each will be able to render a distinct service in some social group and thus to receive the stimulus that comes from success. This development of superiority in each child is the aim of democratic education, the ideal in its higher form so far as the individual is concerned—a stupendous vagary, some will say, but precisely such was the lower form of this ideal when it demanded that every boy and girl should have the opportunity to learn to read and write. Thus our final aim involves actual social training in real democratic groups, an aim that should be made universal in American schools, involving a form of training absolutely essential for the permanent development of democracy. (Chapter XIV.)

Emancipation from Parents.—At the adolescent period an essential thing for the mental health, although likely to be distressing both to parents and youth, is emancipation from dependence on one's parents. If parents have

the mediæval schools, has been handed down the custom of making a debate a contest of wits, not for obtaining the truth in regard to a puzzling problem, not for stating the problem fairly and clearly where the matter cannot be settled, not by any means for determining the real facts and real issues, but for victory in discussion by one side or the other. As is well-known, this often results in clever efforts to make the worse appear the better reason, to bring up any fallacious argument, to appeal to any prevalent prejudice, to adopt any trick of the demagogue that may aid in establishing the contention of the disputants before whatever jury or audience the debaters make their appeal.

Such debates might be of great assistance in training in sound reasoning, in coöperative efforts to obtain the truth, and in giving students a right basis of judgment between sound reasoning and emotional thinking. To accomplish this, however, a rigorous scientific method must be used and the scientific attitude developed, the fundamental aim of the debate being to clarify the problem and to obtain the truth.

It follows, of course, that teachers and school executives should themselves be free from this habit of rationalization. Among the outstanding examples of bad training are those teachers and executives who punish students by emotional reactions to their own prejudices and then attempt to rationalize them. The way this is sometimes done in institutions of learning would be incredible did we not know from the study of mental development that few individuals if any have ever escaped the egoistic emotional impulses of childhood, and the felt need of defense mechanisms and compensations for their own shortcomings.

then the parents note with fear the changes that are taking place, an increase of gruffness, lack of consideration for others, unkindness toward the mother, change of language, to slang or even worse, intolerance of other children, increased secretiveness, and the like. All these things make the mother and the father anxious. These, although in themselves undesirable, are, however, expressions of this tendency toward emancipation, which is desirable. The mere insight on the part of parents that these changes represent a specially important development of an independent healthful personality, would in itself go far toward removing the more serious aspects of the situation.

Many excellent parents, however, knowing the developing characters of their children, the great urge of vigor at adolescence, and the strong growing impulse to self-assertion, nevertheless magnify their faults, fail to understand them, and treat them most unwisely. As Dean Briggs once said, "The youth, still a boy, demands that he be treated as a man." The father and mother in turn, although knowing that the youth are still boys and girls, demand that they act like men and women. The aggressive reaction to this misunderstanding may be called the revolt of youth, or original sin, or a psychosis of development, or what you will; but it is a common occurrence, often tragic, and involves a problem requiring careful study of the individual case and the guidance of wisdom.

Parents, as Williams has pointed out, should keep clearly in mind the main tendency and not confuse expressions of the youthful impulses for the real attitudes and tendencies. The common thing, however, is precisely this confusion by parents of the expression, which may

trained their children to take responsibility in the early years, this emancipation may occur naturally and without serious stress or strain. If, on the other hand, as seems usually to be the case, parents are afraid to place responsibility on the children, and they have never had the opportunity to do things "on their own," then the shock of separation from parental guidance and influence may be serious.

Angelo Patri has rightly pointed out the fact that training in personal responsibility in preparation for this emancipation should begin at an early age. As a matter of fact the child begins to leave his parents as soon as he learns to walk. Sooner or later control by the parents must cease and the youth must acquire self-control. It is far better that this should be a gradual process, and it is better to follow nature's method here as elsewhere and as far as possible give the child freedom and place responsibility upon the individual from the early years. More concretely Patri puts it as follows: ³⁹

Begin preparation for the years of adolescence in the nursery. Train the child to self-judgment and self-support in his spiritual struggle in the days of his childhood. Let him learn that there is a line past which no friend, no foe may cross, the threshold of his inmost self. Though all the world attempts to cross it he alone may do so. When all the world retires he must sit alone with that self. Prepare him early for that day and night.

Annoying Changes.—The boy and girl, as we have seen, should develop self-confidence and hence should have opportunity for taking responsibility and for initiative. In the failure to recognize the natural changes that come with growth lies the danger. The adolescent, for example, may have been on the whole beautiful and gentle, and

least they can do is to interfere. The hygienic rule may well be that of early childhood: when one does not know what to do, let children alone.

Williams has emphasized especially the importance of these two things in adolescent education—emancipation from one's parents and heterosexuality. Upon the success of these in the boy, he says,⁶⁰

will depend all the future relationships that he will have with men as he goes out into the world to deal with men, that he will have with women as he meets them about the world; it will have much to do with his choice of a profession, much to do with his success or failure in his profession, everything in the world to do with the success of his marriage. Upon this will depend also his excellence as a parent and as a citizen, his attitude toward public questions such as morals, ethics, religion, and public policy, his general efficiency, his mental and physical health. [p. 213.]

The tendency to heterosexuality together with the tendency to break away from dependence are deemed so important by psychiatrists for the normal development of youth, that Williams goes so far as to say that they are the only things really of first importance in the development of youth at the adolescent period.

Besides these two things, however, emphasized by Williams as the things really important, one other thing, or really perhaps it would be better to say two things, are essential. First of all a self-chosen significant individual task, the importance of which has already been sufficiently emphasized; and second, a group task and the training in altruism that come from membership in a really democratic social group.

No Time for Standardization.---The adolescent period of education is not a time for standardization. Whatever

and rightly developed, there is bound to be a strong home attachment; and in this country especially, where neither ancestor worship nor undue reverence for parents prevails, in the interest of mental health, this affection for the old home may well be preserved.

Heterosexuality.—Another essential in the social development at this period is a normal sex development. This involves a development of heterosexuality. According to Groves, the boy at this period is less liable to abnormal deviations than the girl, because the boy starts with heterosexuality from his association with the mother; and she on the other hand is likely to extend to him greater demonstration of affection than she bestows on her daughters. This is likely to arouse reciprocal feelings in the child, and the boy naturally looks to his mother rather than to his father for satisfaction.

"The development of the girl's affection," says Groves,²² "is not so simple as that of the boy's. It also has greater opportunities for emotional disturbances. The girl begins, as does the boy, with a fixation upon the mother. But this, in the case of the girl, is a homosexual experience, and thus at the very start of the evolution of affection of the girl there is satisfaction in a relationship which does not require cognizance of sex differences." (p. 204.) Hence it may be more difficult for the girl to develop the normal heterosexuality.

If the social environment is made normal and children are given the opportunity for social service and social success, this development probably will occur naturally, and usually no anxiety about it is necessary. But parents may well beware of repression and undue interference. Here, however, either father or mother, or both, is apt to feel that the issues at stake are so tremendous that the

nored that many personality disorders develop at the adolescent period. Usually perhaps the beginnings of such psychoneuroses occur in the early years of childhood and the pathological tendency is merely exaggerated with the adolescent storm and stress. The causes, whether in childhood or later life, apart from heredity, are especially: neglect of the obvious teachings of genetic psychology and mental hygiene, lack of the development of varied healthful interests, lack of fitting tasks, of opportunity to take responsibility, lack of normal domestic and social life, and of any adequate training in control of emotion.

The outcome in some cases is that of disillusionment and despair. Some years ago a prominent superintendent of schools facetiously remarked that while suicide occurred among students in Germany as the result of failure in school work or the like, the only thing that would drive an American adolescent to suicide would be the knowledge that he was losing control of his parents. Unfortunately this is not true.

When the integration of the personality lacks the support of the habitual doing of worth while tasks regardless of emotion, of course it is simply the old story: on the one hand of human effort and aspiration, the insistent urge and imperative demands of human sentiment and human passion; on the other, of human misery, depression and conflict, the storm and stress of doubt, the confusion, bewilderment and thwarting of the human mind and the baffling difficulties of problems too complex for human intelligence. And to the insistent questions, what is it all about, what real good is there, what is really worth working for, it is no wonder that individuals of a certain type despair of any satisfactory answer. No wonder that

may be said for the standardized work advocated by H. G. Wells ⁶⁷ in the elementary schools, it is quite out of place in the secondary and higher schools. Now, if ever, is the time when opportunity should be given boys and girls for thinking their own thoughts and doing their own tasks. Mr. Wells, in his own character, furnishes, I think, all the illustration we need. Wells apparently is himself an example of permanent adolescence, an example of youth, not only with some of its defects, but with a permanent vitality and youthfulness.

As expressed by a recent critic, Church, the main-spring of Wells' being is an enormous emotional energy. Displeasing, even disgusting to some, but with an enormous fruitfulness characterized, however, by a sort of adolescent shamelessness that saps all the insular and starchy dignity out of his character, making him springy and volatile, a sort of Olympian. Like a typical adolescent, he first acts and then thinks. His writing is suffused by a vital spirit, ever changing, ever new, ever creative. For such a character a standardized education is obviously out of the question.

Sympathetic Understanding.—We should aim at least to understand adolescent boys and girls. The adolescent period is one of great reserve. The youth has ideals, aspirations, and feelings that are too sacred to be discussed. This may be especially true in regard to one's aspirations in life—such matters as choice of a calling, the choice of a political party, the love affairs of the adolescent, and, most of all perhaps, in matters of religion. Adults sometimes outrage this reserve in regard to the most sacred things.

Personality Disorders.—Although we are concerned especially with normal development, the fact cannot be ig-

like; and for these there is good hope of their being outgrown and controlled if a proper environment and a proper hygienic training are ensured. For some at least of the seriously annoying and sometimes grave misdemeanors of adolescents a cure by means of training in conditioned reflexes or the like seems likely to be available.

Conditioned Reflex Therapy.—Bekhterev, in the *Wittenberg Symposium on Feelings and Emotions*, reported successful application of conditioned reflex therapy in the more elementary phenomena of general neuroses such as anæsthesia and paralysis and in regard to annoying acts. It has been applied to childish states characterized by kleptomania in which satisfaction is associated with the annoying act of theft. The method involves the association of a defensive reflex caused by an electric current with the words "Do not take." This has proved satisfactory for stubborn kleptomania in children and resulted in complete eradication of the act after several sittings at weekly intervals. These results of conditioning are similar to familiar experiments made by Watson. In regard to this Bekhterev says:*

"There is no reason to doubt that the strictly objective biosocial or reflexological method of investigation, which originated here and has been developed in America, has placed the problem of emotions as somato-mimetic reflexes upon an experimental basis, and has given a great impetus to the development of an exact understanding of these complicated states of the human being." (p. 283.)

Plea for Understanding.—Thus one of the important hygienic needs is a sympathetic understanding. This can hardly be put too strongly; but to gain this understanding, one needs not merely sympathy and good will, but

if nothing worse happens they become at least paralyzed in their intellectual activity and arrested in their higher mental development.

Psychoses of Development.—Pathological and unusual developments furnish often an enlarged picture, a close-up if you please, of this adolescent development. Derrick¹⁴ has given us such a sketch of the abnormal boy. With girls it would be similar with modified manifestations. He describes the characteristics of such an adolescent as follows:

The adolescent delinquent represents a highly specialized type of difficulty. Coupled with the question of his mental deviation we have a highly developed, antisocial, gang spirit, fed upon the adoration of the members of the gang; there is almost a complete absence of self-control when selfish desire or opportunity to show off present themselves; the attitude toward work is one of scorn; the attitude toward authority is one of contempt, insolence, and defiance; the attitude toward the finer and better things of life is one of indifference. As a type, the adolescent delinquent is turbulent, often petulant, daring, defiant, but possessed of a superabundance of energy, which has found outlet through lawless and undesirable channels, and which meets any attempt at repression with a spirit of rebellion and stubbornness. [p. 201.]

Sometimes these characteristics of self-development at adolescence are emphasized and written in large letters in the case of normal youth of unusual ability, or of strong emotions and of striking special talents, as well as in the pathological.

These manifestations, however, of lack of self-control and extreme conduct disorders even in many superior youth, may be looked upon in general as psychoses of development rather than symptoms of degeneration or the

With a large and healthy hand, he tore down these veils, and trampled them under the well-intentioned feet of eloquence. In a raucous voice, he cried aloud little matters, like the hope of Honor and dream of Glory, that boys do not discuss even with their most intimate equals, cheerfully assuming that, till he spoke, they had never considered these possibilities. He pointed them to shining goals, with fingers which smudged out radiance on all horizons. He profaned the most secret and sacred places of their souls with outcries and gesticulations. He bade them consider the deeds of their ancestors in such a fashion that they were flushed to their tingling ears. Some of them . . . might have had relatives who perished in defense of their country. They thought, not a few of them, of an old sword in a passage, or above a breakfast-room table, seen and fingered by stealth since they could walk. He adjured them to emulate those illustrious examples; and they looked all ways in their extreme discomfort.

It may be the same in religious matters. I am convinced that religious teachers sometimes profane the sacred feelings of youth. A strong-minded boy in the period of most rapid development may be unconventional in his morality, bizarre in his actions, and intellectually without a scrap of a creed, and from an instinct of modesty unwilling to discuss religious matters; but the chances are that he may have religious feelings beside which those of the adult are as mere dross and tinsel.

After gaining this understanding of children and youth, instruction and training in morals can be given. Goldbeck has pointed out the danger of reversing this normal sequence of the stages of development in relation to morals. In school life this moral judgment should come second, not first. Not until one believes that he understands the student is it permitted, and often imperative,

also a knowledge of adolescent development, the interest in adolescence that means prevision for the developments, normal and abnormal, likely to come. Goddard²⁰ has suggested the vast number of conduct disorders and crimes that would be prevented by means of right understanding.

Our courts are picking up many thousands of delinquent boys and girls every year. A very small percentage of them ever are restored so as to contribute their share to the general welfare. The most of them are always a burden and many of them become our most dangerous criminals.

Why is this so?

Because we have made no effort to understand the children.

A recent writer, Goldbeck,²¹ says in substance that the complete knowledge and understanding of youth should come first, before any attempt to train them in morals, thus giving a wider and deeper application of the wisdom of Rousseau, who taught that even virtue, prematurely developed, sows the seeds of vice.

Kipling, in his *Stalky & Co.*²²—a book that shows a true insight into boy nature whatever else one may think of it—gives a concrete illustration:

A member of Parliament has come down to Stalky's school to congratulate the boys on their establishment of a volunteer corps, and in his speech to them he enumerates the usual moral platitudes, supposed to be appropriate to such an occasion.

And so they ought to think of the duties and responsibilities of the life that was opening before them. Life was not all—he enumerated a few games, and, that nothing might be lacking to the sweep and impact of his fall, added "marbles." Yes, life was not, he said, "all marbles."

example, the case is reported of a boy who asked his father: "When you were a boy did you go to Sunday School?" "Yes," said the father, "I went every Sunday." "Well," said the boy, "I don't believe it would do me any good either."

Only special students of adolescence or those with wide experience of life understand the tragedy of lack of mutual understanding. Only such can appreciate the astonishing degree to which people may be intimately associated day after day in the school, the home, and even in industrial occupations, without any real understanding of each other; and the astounding failure to understand occurs so frequently, even where parents and teachers imagine they have a thorough knowledge of the youth for whom they are responsible, they would be amazed if they knew the facts, and how frequently misunderstanding is the cause of disasters to happiness and mental health. To show the need and the difficulty of mutual understanding is one of the great contributions of mental hygiene.

To-day the complaint by fathers and mothers is universal, that they cannot manage their adolescent children; but I am inclined to believe there is much truth in what one of the popular oracles has said: "If parents understood their children as well as children understand their parents, the parents could manage their children as well as the children now manage their parents."

The Rôle of Training.—A great contribution of mental hygiene here is to show the aims and pitfalls of adolescent education.⁵⁰ To speak of this in detail would be a long story, but our brief survey shows that of special importance is the teaching of hygiene that the adolescent awakening, with all its emotion, self-consciousness and

that one should moralize. The reverse process is the common one, Goldbeck says.

Adolescent Sensitiveness.—Adolescents, as noted above, are very sensitive about themselves, especially so in regard to their faults. In point here is an old story whose wisdom is as great as its humor.

"Why did you strike that man?" asked the judge of a Negro who was brought before him for assault.

"He called me a damn black rascal, your honor."

"Well you are that, are you not?" said the judge.

"Yes, your honor, but suppose he had called you that, what would you have done?"

"But I am not that, am I?" said the judge.

"No, your honor, but suppose he had called you the kind of rascal you is, what would you have done?"

This sensitiveness in regard to the real facts about ourselves is proverbial in all of us. It is a maxim of folk wisdom that one must not twit on facts. To tell adolescent boys and girls their faults is usually futile and unnecessary. Our first duty is to understand them rather than to correct them.

Mutual Understanding.—This understanding should be mutual. But no individual can understand another person. Youth do not understand adults, parents and teachers do not understand youth. On the whole perhaps youth understand their parents better than they are themselves understood. Parents, like youth, have defense mechanisms; and for many, as President Hall is reported to have said, it is true that they spend most of their time in trying to cover up what they really are. With youth they do not succeed, however, very well. Boys and girls are pretty apt to see through the defense of their parents. Sometimes they show an insight almost uncanny; for

the special movements for the preservation of life and health and human safety, appeal to personal individual safety and selfish interest in personal health, comfort, and the like, is the method resorted to.

Again, even those who have gained the insight that our own feelings as such have no relation to reality may still be in error, from the fact that as regards health, human happiness, and the like, reality itself is largely conditioned by the ego complex; and only the attention to objective reality that is able to ignore the egoistic influences, by devotion to tasks, by the ideals and methods of science and the like, gives the condition favorable for healthful mental development.

Finally in this period of later adolescence in college and professional education, may advantageously come the training that will enable students to solve the mental conflicts that handicap individual youth and the development of normal social groups as well.

This would involve to a large extent the removal of the anxiety, sense of inadequacy, and subtle fear that many youth experience.

Adolescent Fears.—Again, one of the chief dangers at the adolescent period is the development of fear. This may occur in the mind of a boy or girl from any one of several conditions. In the first place it may be a survival from the fears of infancy and childhood. Or again it may be caused by the violent changes in stimulation that occur at this period, change due to changes in bodily organs and functions, especially perhaps those due to growth, and to the atrophy of certain endocrine glands and the greater development in case of others, making a new adjustment of these vital organs necessary to produce the wholesome balance essential to health. Still

conceit, and sometimes bizarre characteristics, is a period of the utmost importance in the development of the personality. The great discovery of youth at that period is the discovery of self and the interest in one's own self. This objective study of the self is a prophylactic against abnormal development and personality disorders.

The problem of a sound pedagogy is, what part should the teacher and hygienist take in stimulating and guiding this objective study of the self. Here, as in all such questions of hygiene, the first point should be a wise caution not to interfere in a spontaneous development and not to stimulate self-consciousness and self-study prematurely. This seems to represent the view of those who have made special study of the development of the child's ego. The natural tendency in childhood to give attention to the external world is so deep that it is likely to protect against stimuli to self-consciousness and self-study. But at adolescence the objective study of self seems to be normal. The chief point, as emphasized by Lohbauer, is that violent emotional stimuli, shocks to the mental life, especially of emotional character, should be avoided. Calm and serene equilibrium in mental development naturally is best. Any training in logical thinking, both in childhood and adolescence, is likely to be a valuable preparation for self-study.

Serious training in altruism and in what it involves in regard to social relations may well be given in the later period, a form of training that does not hesitate to combat the unfortunate conditions of education and society to-day. Such training is made necessary by the fact that all our business and social and public activities are organized primarily on an egocentric basis, that appeal is usually to self-interest, and the further fact that even in

of his own which make such imperative demands that during the performance of these tasks there is no time for fear. Second, is the habit of facing those fearful conditions which cannot be removed and of doing the things one is afraid of. Third, is the objective study of the self, already referred to. As soon as one recognizes that his fears are due to violent change of stimulation from each fear-producing situation, and that most of the conditions that produce one's fears are subjective, that the individual can himself in large measure produce such conditions or by himself remove them, the imperative dominance of fear is greatly weakened, and the task of dethroning the tyrant becomes itself worth while, and so interesting and so significant that the very effort weakens the fear.

Still again, as in all conditions of anxiety and dread of some concrete object or situation, the knowledge of the facts is a form of self-knowledge that carries in itself largely the remedy for the condition. Thus when Crile had discovered the injurious effects of fear, he found that in his own case this appreciably diminished his worry and anxiety. So in many adolescents, if not in all, this knowledge of the injurious effects of one's own worries and anxieties will in itself act as a check or inhibition of them.

Why Does Practice Lag?—These are very simple things, very obvious, very familiar, in large part an old story. All of us perhaps will agree to them. Clearly then the thing to do is to regard them in practice. What do we actually do?

We say the aim of adolescent training should be self-discovery, but we are apt to insist on training in the few conventional things of a narrow curriculum with little opportunity for self-discovery. We demand training in

again this fear may be due to changes in the emotional life, conditioned primarily perhaps by endocrine stimulation, and in the second place by changes in the domestic, educational and social environment.

Still further, the stimuli conditioning the fears of adolescents may be due to the great confusion of new interests and new problems that beset the youth; the facing of new and untried conditions is likely to develop the fear of the unknown, the sense of insecurity and inadequacy for the many and grave problems that beset the individual.

Many youth, boys and girls alike, develop that sense of anxiety and insecurity that all human beings are wont to feel in crises, where no definite plan of action, no imperative purposeful task like a categorical duty, and no adequate knowledge of essential conditions, exist.

Some youth develop a deep-seated and chronic state of fear, largely unknown perhaps to themselves, and still more unknown probably to their parents and teachers. Perhaps timid by nature and often thwarted and checked in all their spontaneous activity, disregarded or laughed at when they speak to their elders, and blamed whenever they blunder, the natural defense is to say nothing and to do nothing. Thus develops the most serious of all fears, the fear of action, and at adolescence especially, the fear of failure and fear that they may never succeed in getting a job or in performing any task worth undertaking.

Control of Fear.—What the best regimen for these adolescent conditions may be, is not yet clear, but a few general principles show in what direction the solution for individual cases must lie. (Chapter IX.) A few essential considerations should be recalled here: first of all, the youth, as we have seen, should have worth while tasks

that it is a time to trust nature; fifth, that it is a time for many things, many interests and many occupations; sixth, that it is a time for the development of essential tendencies, really significant attitudes, for initiative and responsibility; not for prescribed behavior, mere conventional knowledge and the acquisition of mere credits, immunities, and the like; seventh, that it is a time for facing reality and for solving mental conflicts; eighth, that it is a time for integrating the personality at a higher level; ninth, that it is a time for the development of altruism; tenth, that it is a time for developing habits of mental health; eleventh, that it is a time for emancipation from parents and the development of independent thought and action; twelfth, that it is a time for the development of heterosexuality, that this should be sufficiently deep-seated and revolutionary to check the overdevelopment of the ego; thirteenth, that it is a time for the development and perfection of the scientific attitude and method; fourteenth, furthermore, it is a time for the development of an objective attitude toward the self and for obtaining self-knowledge; fifteenth, it is the time for social training in really democratic groups.

concentrated attention, in the doing of a significant task, then we permit many forms of distraction and disintegration, and impose our own will instead of granting that freedom of choice that makes the youth feel responsible for the task as really his own.

Again in the inevitable conflicts between the new and the old, between ancient good and newer and higher good, between old doctrines and new truth, more concretely perhaps between the traditions and beliefs of our fathers and the demonstrated truths of science and education today—in these sometimes heartbreaking conflicts, we recognize the need of solving the problem, not by repression of one side and the dominance of the other, but by integration at a higher level; and yet we proceed with the same old dogmatism, and arouse the same inevitable antagonism between the eternal youth movement and the fossilized dogmas and prejudices of an obsolete past.

To the insistent question, what shall be done for the individual adolescents who face such glorious opportunities, and are threatened by such serious dangers? the answer in detail for concrete cases is vastly complex and puzzling, but the general answer for all cases is simple. What is needed is the help of the well established teachings of mental hygiene and training in habits of mental health.

SUMMARY

From the hygienic point of view the significant things in adolescent development and training, in part at least, are the following:

First, that it is a time for individualization, not for standardization; second, that it is a time for sympathetic understanding, not for abstract criticisms and directions; third, that it is a time for freedom, not coercion; fourth,

vidual investigation, and youth should be given freedom for it.

Danger from Introspection

The fear some have that such self-study may produce an unfortunate habit of introspection seems hardly a serious one. Many youth, we have noted, introspect anyway, and introspection itself is not necessarily harmful, but rather the lack of an objective attitude in self-study is dangerous. The scientific attitude toward the self is what should be developed, and the attempt at self-discovery is needed by many as a remedy for sentimental day-dreaming, for abnormal introspection, and for many forms of self-deception that inhibit insight and threaten the wholesome development of the personality.

This discovery of the self, as suggested in the preceding chapter, if balanced by a normal discovery of one's relations to others, together with the development of permanent interests in an objective study of nature and science, seems to be itself distinctly remedial. The psychoanalysts have rightly made much of self-knowledge as a cure. In his book, *Conditions of Nervous Anxiety*, Stekel wrote,⁵³ "To make oneself known to oneself is the beginning and the end of cure." Such self-knowledge is still better as prevention.

Self-Knowledge

Whether we call this aim, with Socrates, self-knowledge, or with modern educators, self-discovery, or with Allport self-evaluation, there seems no question of its value for the mental health.

What does the youth discover? Some of the things likely to be discovered are the following:

CHAPTER XVI

THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSONALITY: THE DISCOVERY OF SELF

IN adolescent development many things, as we have seen, should be acquired: the ability to work with others, altruism, healthful permanent interests in social activities and social movements, right habits of self-assertion, emancipation from dependence on one's parents, a normal heterosexual attitude, permanent interests in one's own health, and the like. Most important of all, perhaps, is the great discovery made by the normal adolescent, the discovery of self. The objective attitude that has already begun to develop is extended to the self. The powers of the self, the potentiality of happiness and sorrow, the capacity for varied experiences; all these become the most absorbingly interesting things in the world. The relation of the self to others also claims special attention, the larger relations of the self to the universe, and the great problems of life and human destiny. The period of puberty and adolescence is the great opportunity for this self-discovery and the acquisition of self-knowledge.

Although this study of self should not be made prematurely, sooner or later the normal youth is bound to make it to some degree. The boy and girl alike can further this self-discovery by taking an objective attitude toward themselves, and at certain times making a business of studying themselves. This naturally is a piece of indi-

istics is fortunate. Again it is more probable that some of those habits and individual peculiarities, likes and dislikes, and methods of work, characteristic of great men, be may discover in himself, characteristics accidental to genius; and here again he will be fortunate if he is kept from foolish developments of these accidentals and from any delusions of greatness resulting from such unessential similarities. The opposite examples are illustrated, notably perhaps in some of the followers of Nietzsche in Germany during the last fifty years.

A few adolescents probably will discover that they are superior. Many will discover that they do have some special capacity, some talent in some direction, so that along the line of this special ability they may be able to develop superiority. Here they are on the trail of the real essence of human personality, and they will be fortunate if they discover the opportunity for a significant task of their own where they can become superior in something and render a real social service. Here is that nucleus of individual personality that may perhaps be called a spark of genius, because most individuals, perhaps all, have at least the germ of some unique personality gift, something at least that marks the individual off from his companions as different and which renders some development possible which is distinctly and essentially individual.

If the outcome of this objective study of oneself be the ability to think soberly as one ought to think, retaining enough of the sense of inferiority to be sensibly modest, and on the other hand, having that respect for oneself and confidence in one's own ability that gives an insight of the significance of one's own personality, whatever it may be, the youth is well repaid. If the result

1. *Physical Limitations.*—The youth discovers that in physical characteristics and physical ability he is limited. In common with his fellow men he finds his physical capacity, his physical strength and endurance, even his ability to perform the ordinary functions of the human body in health and comfort, are circumscribed within very narrow limits; for example, roughly to give extremes: a body temperature of 97°F. to $98\frac{3}{5}^{\circ}\text{F.}$, an environmental temperature of 50°F. below zero to 120°F. above; an atmospheric oxygen content of 15 per cent to 23 per cent, a relative humidity of 10 per cent to 100 per cent. Again, as regards strength and endurance, however vigorous the individual may be, only a limited capacity for function exists; and as regards one's nervous ability, however sound and healthy, each has a limit and never very high, beyond which one's nervous system breaks down, as shown emphatically during the war.

2. *Mental Inferiority.*—The youth discovers that mentally he is not superior. Even if intelligence tests show superiority in certain abilities, even if his I.Q. is well over 100, he is likely to discover that in many ways he is inferior; and hence, if he becomes a good introspective and objective observer, he is likely to have a well justified sense of inferiority. For many youth there comes a time during the adolescent period when perhaps a sense of inferiority is the normal attitude.

Thus the youth will discover that he is no genius. Probably, however, some of those characteristics of genius which Lombroso suggested as common characteristics of insanity, may be discovered; and the youth who has sufficient common sense and training to save him from the pathological developments of these character-

come conscious of self, and this is likely to make them timid and awkward.

5. *Childish Survivals*.—Still again the adolescent discovers in his own character strange survivals of the ego-centric period of childhood, and, with the best intentions in the world, finds himself in many situations quite unable to escape the childish attitudes of jealousy, envy, and of blaming others. Among the most frequent of these, as we have seen, is likely to be the survival of this childish attitude of blaming others. In the new situations of one's broader environment, with the new forces, new experiences, and new temptations, defects are sure to appear, blunders sure to be made. For these it is most consoling if one can blame somebody or something concretely. (Chapter XI.) The way adolescents do find means of shifting responsibility are, of course, manifold; and while the scapegoat is usually some individual, friend, companion, or member of one's family, there may be any number of other things, one's heredity, one's special environment, and the like; but something to blame is likely to be felt as an imperative need.

6. *Defense Mechanisms*.—If he studies his own behavior truly and frankly, the youth is pretty sure to find, along with this habit of putting the blame for unfortunate occurrences on something or somebody other than himself, that he has certain defense mechanisms that serve for excuse—the minor forms of illness, disabilities, caprices, lack of energy, dislikes, and alleged obligations to certain individuals and social groups, all useful as excuses or compensations for faults and blunders. These are often the result of habitual associations or conditioned reflexes and may be unconscious, un-

is the proper integration of the ego in a total well balanced personality, the outcome will be both hygienic in the sense of preventing abnormal developments and remedial in the sense of curing survivals from childhood.

Latent Potentialities.—The Committee on The Growth and Development of the Child of the White House Conference ⁶² asserted in its report that “the practical problem is not so much to determine whether the child conforms to a standard representing the average of a group, as to determine whether or not he realizes to the fullest extent his own inborn potentialities.” Although the age is uncertain at which it is possible for a child to realize its own latent powers, at least in the adolescent period opportunity for such discovery should be given.

3. *New Powers.*—New abilities, new potentialities, new possibilities of experience are discovered by the adolescent. New and surprising thoughts and feelings occur; new attitudes develop; new social experiences and sometimes amazing emotional reactions. This discovery of new powers does not come all at once. The youth is rather hazy about it and perhaps thinks of it only occasionally; but comparing one's present self with the self of a few years ago the change is obvious. New interests, new ambitions, and perhaps a new and somewhat different form of energy, are present.

4. *Self-Centered Behavior.*—Although at first the youth does not think very much about self objectively, the boy, and perhaps the girl in less degree, find that they are always thinking about themselves subjectively and subconsciously; and that their behavior is usually egocentric. They are no more self-centered than they were before, not as much so probably; but now they be-

and considerable mental effort, they are unable to follow the path that reason points out.

In many situations the boy and girl find surprising experiences. The boy some day has occasion to speak before a group of people, and to his amazement his thoughts suddenly leave him, and instead of speaking coherently, he can think of nothing but himself. Much the same may happen in the experience of the girl. Some day she is called upon to recite and perhaps forgets everything, even her own name. Naturally the boy and girl reflect on these experiences, and some adolescents try to find out what they can do, and what tricks the ego, of which they have been largely unconscious, can play; in a word, the desire is for new experiences, new emotions, and for tests of personal possibilities.

Most serious of all may be the lack of self-control discovered in the emotional conflicts that occur—between right and wrong, between conscience, or some ideal, and emotional desire. Here the youth may discover that the direct attack of the moralist is likely to be futile; but that the indirect method of mental hygiene may give help. Where the desired expression of emotion is forbidden by conscience or by convention, the interest in an all-absorbing imperative task gives the needed inhibition. For those who have acquired the objective attitude toward self, the imperative task now is self-study. This naturally will be easier for introspective youth; but the extraspective are able in some degree to make this self-study and to profit by it.

II. *Fear of Self.*—The new stimuli, the new sources of energy, and the new feelings and ambitions may present such a violent change of stimulation that fear is sometimes the result: fear of the instability and con-

known to the individual before this objective study of self.

7. *Altruism Still a Drab Stimulus.*—The adolescent is likely to discover that categorical as are the demands of this new altruism and perhaps its sublimated form of devotion to the welfare of the race rather than that of the individual, they represent to him an empty, unconvincing, and uncompelling appeal, easily outweighed by the vivid and emotionally convincing mandates of what appears vital self-interest and self-need, or by the appeal of those near at hand, family, friends, neighbors, boy and girl companions.

8. *Impulse to Conduct Disorders.*—The youth may find himself shocked on occasion by impulses to unconventional acts and conduct disorders; just as Tolstoi, in the account of his own adolescence, said that from his own experience he could understand how the youth may at times find himself impelled to even grossly criminal acts without any desire for wrongdoing, but from the mere impulse to activity and self-assertion.

9. *Egoism.*—Most surprising may be the discovery of one's insistent and abundant egocentric attitudes. In regard to certain things there may actually be a conflict between the dictates of personal honor and the promptings of the ego complex, so that even with this most fundamental of higher human attitudes, the mental tendency is not always clear and straightforward, and at times the dictates of honor itself are not followed except by some effort and some conflict with egoistic tendencies.

10. *Lack of Self-Control.*—Again the adolescent boy and girl alike are liable to discover that in regard to many of their own impulses and tendencies they are unable to gain control; and even with good intentions

carded. No wonder that emotional youth who attempt this emancipation should sometimes be driven to despair.

Thus the adolescent discovers that he is the dupe of many errors. Having accepted as true whatever parents and teachers have taught, and perhaps with still greater conviction whatever has been read in books, now he finds much of this knowledge conventionally labeled as truth is really false.

13. *Doubt*.—The adolescent is likely to go still further in a strenuous attempt to find reality. He finds himself a doubter. Many naturally enough throw overboard all beliefs, attempt to make a *tabula rasa*, and to accept nothing but clear and well established truth, starting perhaps with a kind of Cartesian philosophy of mere existence, or even doubting this.

For many of the more intelligent youth a storm and stress period of doubt is natural. For thousands of years adolescents have doubted. It is the only means for self-adjustment of the individual to his intellectual environment.

Naturally enough this doubting tendency seems to be correlated with an interest in philosophy. In an old study¹⁰ some years ago of a group of university philosophy students a majority of them reported a more or less extreme period of doubt. Of course many others besides students of philosophy are doubters. As a matter of fact, if before adolescence the essentials of health are well established and the skepticism is thoroughgoing, one's own and not copied from another, the more doubters perhaps the better. For now, before the youth becomes badly sophisticated, before the habit of rationalization becomes fixed, and while interest in self-discovery and the great problem of the relation of self to

fusion of one's own mental processes, fear of the surprising and imperative responses one makes to situations both new and old; fear even of what one may do, fear of new attractions and the new antagonisms that one feels, and not infrequently a persistent fear for one's own health.

Most alarming of all, perhaps, may be the fear of certain things apparently without cause or reason, things of which the youth has never been afraid, and sometimes conditioned fears phantastic and grotesque. The psychologist Locke long ago pointed out some of these surprising fears as they appear in social situations and in the presence of certain individuals; a strange fear, for example, of a certain person, usually of the other sex. With this too there may occur fear of one's own reaction to the established conventions of society, fear also of the uncontrolled and uncontrollable behavior of one's own psychophysical organism; and a subtle and surprising fear of the result of unknown stimuli may become potent in one's behavior.

12. *The Discovery of Error.*—In the objective study of self and attempts at self-knowledge, the adolescent discovers the vast number of conventional beliefs as well as conventional habits of behavior already acquired. Desiring to be free and independent, desiring to shake off the fetters of convention and the habitual beliefs of childhood, one sometimes becomes an extreme individualist and a crank, because, attempting independence as best one may, the fetters of the past cannot be thrown off altogether; but merely in place of conventional beliefs and behavior, new and untried paths are likely to be entered, and new prejudices and new habits developed, worse, perhaps, than the traditional ones dis-

Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason, appeared when he was twenty-five; and his chief work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, was published when he was thirty-one. Lotze's *Metaphysik* appeared when he was twenty-four; Hartmann published his *Philosophie des Unbewussten* at the age of twenty-seven, and wrote it several years earlier; and Jonathan Edwards, one of the greatest of American philosophers, wrote some remarkable philosophical speculations in his *Notes on the Mind* when he was a boy of sixteen.

The danger to youth is not that they may become skeptics, but rather that they may be halfway doubters and not discover this fact. Such are apt to feel that their own thinking is remarkable and desire to tell the world about it. In recent years many magazine articles and books written apparently by such halfway skeptics have appeared, often interesting and vigorous critiques of conventional beliefs but significant as the product of adolescent pens. Apparently disturbed by the results of their own thinking, they seem to have taken pleasure in showing the public how bold they have been. However great the negative value of such writings, they sometimes give a grotesque exhibition of adolescent thinking.

Such halfway skepticism is the really dangerous thing. The thoroughgoing adolescent doubter, on the other hand, is likely to be amazed at existence itself, and may doubt even this. The Greek sophist Gorgias still remains perhaps as the best representative of thoroughgoing adolescent doubters; and the three fundamental doctrines of his philosophy—first, that nothing exists; second, that if it did exist we could not know it; and third, if we knew it we could not tell it to any

the world is nascent, at this period is the great opportunity for real thinking by the individual.

One who has not doubted, as James used to say, is never safe; he is liable to be seized at any time. Sooner or later one must work out one's own metaphysics with fear and trembling. It is seldom, however, necessary to tell this personal philosophy to anybody else, least of all to make it public. To do so may be even injurious to healthful development: for as soon as one proclaims one's own experience publicly another factor comes in, the desire for a group response, that of approval or of shocked dissent. This complicates self-study and makes it difficult or impossible to maintain the objective attitude.

The letters from university students cited above corroborate the common observation that this period is the time of genuine interest in philosophic studies. It is tolerably clear that the incentive to philosophic thought generally comes at adolescence. Not a few philosophers have written some of their best work before the age of thirty. At twenty-two Leibnitz had written several works, among them two philosophical essays. Berkeley published his *Essay on the Theory of Vision* when he was twenty-five, and *The Principles of Human Knowledge* the next year. Hume wrote his *Treatise on Human Nature* when he was in the twenties. Fichte wrote his *Aphorisms on Religion and Deism* and his *Critique of All Revelation* before he was thirty. Schelling wrote his work on the possibility of any form of philosophy when he was nineteen, published his *Ego as Principle of Philosophy* when he was twenty, and began to lecture at the University of Jena when he was twenty-three. One of Schopenhauer's best works, *The*

tentialities, his powers, his connection with the world about him, his relation to his companions, his possible function and work?

Whether inclined to philosophy or to action, the youth who has reached this stage desires to find out the facts about himself. No wonder the Greeks emphasized self-knowledge as the acme of wisdom and made *gnōthi se auton* the fundamental maxim of their mental hygiene. As soon as a youth begins to study this problem, any attempt to evade it, to camouflage it, to postpone it, would be at the outset a blow against the integrity of the personality, a suggestion to the youth to dodge reality, to be dishonest with one's own self from the outset. Whether or not we give opportunity for self-discovery, youth will make it; but they may fail to discover their own higher powers and their special capacities.

15. *Nature and Convention.*—Next in importance, the youth discovers a growing emotional interest in society and especially in the other sex, and finds that he must reconstruct not only his philosophy of belief, but also his social philosophy. In fact, he discovers the world-old conflict between nature and convention. Trained to conventional behavior and hitherto having accepted this as right and proper, now he studies the real character of social customs and the like; and discovering that many of them are outgrown and absurd, he reacts against them and perhaps feels that the most important means of self-assertion and the only defense for an individual's real personality is defiance of convention. Thus some in their extreme reactions become bizarre and peculiar in assertion of a nascent and rampant individualism.

The task of reconstructing one's beliefs, accepting

one else—would be hard to refute by any logical proof.

Why should anything exist? Nobody has ever given a reason for existence without assuming it in the first place; and the moment one accepts any such thing, one is involved in all the antinomies of causality and creation. Again if anything did exist, the ordinary well established errors and illusions of observation and the errors of human reason would make it impossible to know this existence truthfully. And again if we knew it, how could we tell any one else? We can communicate truth to another only when our hearer has correct prevision and apperception for what we say. Without this apperception no one can understand us, and our hearer would have no means for gaining this preparation essential for understanding.

Logically justified in this nihilistic philosophy, nevertheless with every experience of life the fact of existence confronts the youth. Instead of this simple and natural belief in non-existence, forced to accept without proof this amazing miracle of existence, one can no longer take a high and mighty logical attitude in regard to self in relation to the world. Some things need no proof. The fact of existence, for example, is self-evident.

14. *The Fact of Existence.*—The youth finds himself unable to escape the stupendous fact of his own personal existence. Before this fact he stands amazed, at once humbled and exalted; he studies science, and finds that on the basis of chance it would be perhaps one in many billion that he himself as an individual personality should be living here and now; and it may be that he feels in himself the opportunity and privilege of all the ages. How could it be otherwise than that he should wish to learn about himself, his own abilities, his po-

masks may be so incredible that he does not push his inquiry far enough to discover his general illusion; but some adolescent students do find this; and the insight acquired, the knowledge that they have all their lives been dodging reality, may be upsetting in the extreme. It is bad enough to learn that one's beliefs are largely false; it is worse to learn that one's personality is largely false. Often one cannot find out directly in what things one does wear a mask, and so cannot discover one's real self. It is worth while, however, even to know that it is sometimes hard to distinguish the mask from the real.

17. *Rationalization.*—If the individual adolescent is highly intelligent, and successful in this objective self-study, he will discover also that much of his own reasoning, probably most of it, is merely rationalization. He makes certain emotional responses and then is busy finding reasons for them and probably shows great ability in doing so. Here again, if the youth is observing, he discovers that he is by no means alone in this habit. It is common everywhere. One finds it not only on the street, in the workshop, and in the home, but even in the school and the higher institutions of learning—the same hasty emotional reactions, the same elaborate attempts to find reasons for them. Where there should be special training in reasoning, one often finds rationalization. (Chapter XV.)

To give a single example of the subtle ways in which this method of false reasoning commonly appears, take the matter of everyday discussion in the classroom, the questions and answers of teachers and pupils. In a common form of discussion that is the favorite and approved method with most teachers, the emphasis is

nothing but what is already proved, and of readjusting one's social relations and making them natural, is not, however, an easy one. Reality is by no means simple, but vastly complex. That youth is fortunate who quickly gains the insight that the building of one's own personal philosophy of life must take a long time, that to live wholesomely one must constantly adjust to larger and larger conceptions of truth, and that while making the search for truth a tentative philosophy of life is necessary.

Fortunate also is the youth who early in his experience makes at least a tentative solution of this conflict; who, in other words, before attempting any ultimate solution of the great problems of life and the major conflicts experienced, adopts a *modus vivendi*, as it may be called, which would mean practically that one conforms to the conventions of the social group of which one is a member in all minor and unessential matters, and insists on freedom to follow nature merely in the great essentials of health, belief, honor, and obvious duty. And if, perchance, some of them should never get beyond this tentative philosophy, their fate will be no worse than that of many wise men.

16. *Wearing a Mask.*—The adolescent who succeeds in making a thorough study of self in relation to society is likely to find that for a large part of his behavior, in most if not all the situations of life, he wears a mask of some kind, just as people around him do. In society, in industry, in business, and even in the professions, the real behavior, the real character, and real motives of people around him, he finds, are apt to be covered over or in some way camouflaged by masks more or less effective. The discovery that he himself wears such

masks may be so incredible that he does not push his inquiry far enough to discover his general illusion; but some adolescent students do find this; and the insight acquired, the knowledge that they have all their lives been dodging reality, may be upsetting in the extreme. It is bad enough to learn that one's beliefs are largely false; it is worse to learn that one's personality is largely false. Often one cannot find out directly in what things one does wear a mask, and so cannot discover one's real self. It is worth while, however, even to know that it is sometimes hard to distinguish the mask from the real.

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same dilemma, react emotionally against their early beliefs, throw them all overboard and then attempt to rationalize their new position. Neither class attempts a higher integration. In both cases an hypertrophied ego works havoc. (See Chapter X.)

The case of one of my students years ago is representative of another subtle form of rationalization—a man whose zeal for applying the truth was so much greater than his judgment in finding it that his attitude was in itself a pitfall to reason. Pressed for whatever evidence he had for certain inferences, he was forced to admit that he had only the statement of another writer; but he added, "I wish to make this point." This is a naïve confession of the egocentric impulse that vitiates reasoning. As soon as the desire to make points is dominant, scientific study is at an end.

When such persons begin to work out a philosophy of life, either from survivals of childish beliefs and attitudes or from the egoistic conceit of knowledge, erroneous but dogmatic conclusions are likely to be made. In this effort the mind of those with strong individual prejudices or, if you prefer, strong individual convictions, is peculiarly liable to error. Here especially the objective attitude is needed.

19. *Conflict with Parents.*—One of the most serious discoveries made by the youth is that of the widening gulf and growing antagonism between themselves and their parents. It is not a mere difference of opinion and an unwillingness to follow the guidance of one's parents, but goes much deeper. It is a difference of mental attitudes.

The girl sometimes cannot bear to have the mother pet and caress her; suffers perhaps even at her mother's

placed on snappy questions and prompt answers both by teachers and pupils. But the quick answer is likely to be a worthless answer. Often it is worse than this because the student makes a quick answer and then tries as best he can to rationalize it, to give reasons for it that will at least impress the teacher.

18. *Mental Conflicts*.—Among the most serious discoveries by the adolescent is the number and intensity of his own mental conflicts, from trivial conflicts in his own efforts to be correct in speech and behavior, to conform to custom in everyday activities, and any number of concrete minor conflicts, up to the most serious ones in regard to his own personal philosophy of living.

Perhaps the most common of the latter kind of conflicts to-day are those in the field of what may be called the philosophy of religion. A vast number of young people, finding that many things they have been taught in regard to morals and religion can no longer be believed, because of the verified facts of scientific investigation, suffer an extreme development of doubt. Mental hygiene has no objection to doubt as such, either in the field of philosophy or religion; but as Ihsen is reported to have said, there is a healthy and an unhealthy doubt, and the unhealthy doubt is one who doubts his own doubt; in other words, it is not doubt but rather the mental conflict that is unwholesome.

In this common mental conflict in religion, philosophy, and science, at least two classes appear: One, seeing the conflict between early beliefs and reality as established by experience and science, cling to what seem to them sacred with a strong emotional reaction, and then try to rationalize their creed by hunting for arguments to support it. The other class, finding themselves in the

children aright, they attempt to coerce them for their own good, and the result is bound to be failure. The youth often gain an insight that the parent lacks, that the only discipline valuable is one's own self-discipline, and that opportunity for this can come only by emancipation from parental control.

The youth discovers perhaps that in minor but serious ways he is enslaved to one or both parents by promises given them or by pledges they have permitted him to make to various societies, reformers, or the like. Hence, when certain problems arise, one is not free to solve them as his own judgment of the situation dictates, but feels that he must keep his promises. Even more serious sometimes is the handicap by rules inculcated by parents so thoroughly they seem imperative. Frequently these are pedantic in the extreme, relating perhaps to petty economies, picking up pins or the like, untying knots instead of cutting them, reading a tiresome book when the situation offers rich opportunity for observation, and a hundred survivals of a thrift without perspective. Thus the problem of emancipation from one's parents is one of the most serious. To solve this without developing a persisting mental conflict or sense of insecurity in the youth is not easy.

20. *Belief and Practice.*—The youth discovers also that what he had deemed one and inseparable, namely belief and practice, belong to two different worlds; and he finds himself accepting and believing certain things as true and yet acting as if they were not true at all. He finds also that in the world about him most people believe in certain great principles, but often act as if the opposite were true. As just noted above under 18, in education and religion especially the youth finds

touch; and resents her assumption of the rôle of confidante. The boy is antagonized by advice; does only unwillingly at the father's orders what he would gladly do if it could be done spontaneously; and resents the father's assumption that attention and respect for his authority should always be rendered. Even the best parents often arouse the worst antagonism; and while the youth love and esteem them, in case of conscientious and meticulously careful parents, the essentially important development of independence and initiative may not be acquired, and the youth becomes aware of an unfortunate slavery to father or mother. On the other hand are they who find a growing feeling that they must assert themselves and defend their own personalities when their parents interfere with their own legitimate tasks, never giving them a job of their own, or allowing them to do it in their own way; these soon recognize a serious misunderstanding between themselves and their parents and a growing sense of lack of sympathy. With this lack of sympathetic understanding and the loss of that sure support and love they have always felt, one of the most serious of all mental attitudes is liable to develop, that of a chronic sense of insecurity.

The youth often discover even some of the reasons why the interference and undue guidance of parents is injurious, because they discern that their parents, like themselves, are still controlled by childish emotional impulses. To put the case bluntly, the parents in such matters are often merely children attempting to control other children. They overestimate their own duty, are pretty sure to overdo this and blunder. Feeling the tremendous importance of guiding and directing their

philosophy in regard to existence one of the great insights of scientific thought—that we can have no sound conception of existence, except with relation to self—and thus he comes in contact with one of the truths of scientific relativity, a truth often overlooked to the great detriment of science itself.

As an illustration of how important for one's intellectual development this adolescent thinking may be, parenthetically it is noteworthy that the great errors of science have been due to the failure to recognize this relativity. Taking Gorgias as representing perhaps the beginnings of science, his error was to ignore the existence of himself. Otherwise his philosophy was impregnable. The second error of science was to conceive of the world as egocentric. In fact it was not until Copernicus substituted for this egocentric and geocentric philosophy of the universe an attitude objective to man, a heliocentric conception, that modern science really began. The third great error of science was to forget man in his rôle of observer and measurer of objective facts. Thus as long as astronomy neglected the self, and took absolute space as its domain, it attained some development but came far short of the fundamental truth:⁴⁰ "But from the moment that it was realized that the measurer was relative to what he measured, the resulting relativity enabled physics . . . to attain objectivity." (p. 197.) That is, as soon as man considers his own self, the measurer, as well as the objective facts measured, the attainment of truth becomes possible.

If an adolescent has succeeded thus far in his objective study of self, he is bound sooner or later to meet the world old problems involved in science and philosophy, and he

THE RESULT OF SELF-STUDY

What is the outcome? The chances are that with the best endeavor the adolescent has not succeeded in finding his own personality. But if he has succeeded in discovering some of the more important things mentioned he has gained a certain sense of mental stability and self-confidence from the fact that he has made an honest attempt to face the facts of existence. He has gained a mental attitude of great importance for his own mental health, an objective attitude toward self. His self-conceit is checked because he could learn so little, and he has acquired some of the humility of science. He has learned something of the strength and significance of his own emotions, acquired perhaps a wholesome fear of them, and learned that one's work can be done without regard to the false coloring they give to facts. He is ready to learn from any honest teacher, whether man or book. He may be in danger from a sense of inferiority and insecurity. He has mental conflicts, he is often worried by the antagonism to his parents, tremendously interested and perhaps worried by his new relations to society; but if he keeps his humility, faces social difficulties courageously, devotes himself whole-heartedly to his tasks, whatever his feelings may be, his egoism is checked and his wholesome development assured.

Some get much more than this. Plato was probably right when he said that a man should be flogged who philosophizes after he is forty. During the period of adolescence, however, philosophic thinking is normal; and many youth innocent of philosophy ever afterward are interested in philosophic thinking at this time. Those who have the ability will get from even this elementary

will come to closer quarters with his problems of self-knowledge in studying these great questions.

Some, specially successful in this study of the relation of self to the universe, will gain the insight that, while other worlds may exist, different and superior to this one, for our crepuscular natures, as James would say, born for the conflict, no world of absolutism where development is complete and perfection enforced, is worth while, but only a world where growth and function are possible and imperfection exists, and where wholesome personalities have the opportunity for integration at higher and higher levels.

A fourth scientific error still prevails, the failure to recognize that all forms of self-development, all high standards and ideals and methods, as well as the objective achievements of science, are significant facts. Some of these products of the human mind are in themselves valuable, autotelic, worth while for their own sakes. Such, for example, is truth itself. Such also are righteousness, honor and beauty, health and happiness, love and wisdom, and effort and service.

For a single example, take truth, a knowledge of reality. However disillusioning the study of man and the universe may be and however disappointing the search for ultimate and absolute good may prove, in all the study of human personality one aspect of the evolution of intelligence is in itself significant—the universal desire for truth and the fact that thinking men have always deemed truth worth while and the search for truth an autotelic aim. Precisely this desire for truth for its own sake is the great glory of human personality. This desire is nascent at adolescence. The pioneers in the discovery of truth have always been largely young men and young women. The

skeptics who would accept no alleged truth unverified, the bold experimenters who had such faith in truth they were not afraid to test it, the radicals who would take no official label as a guarantee of truth; these all have usually been adolescents.

Many of these adolescents have made it a prime object of their lives to search for the truth, usually with the implicit aim also of adjusting to the truth as far as it were possible to find it, to do what seemed best in the light of truth whatever it might be. Thus in the old study made at Johns Hopkins one writer reported as follows in regard to the outcome of his own doubt:¹⁶

Everything was challenged, and everything almost seemed opened to doubt; but, finally, I reached bed-rock in the following propositions: There is such a thing as truth, whether I can ever find it out or not—if the truth were known there would be a best way to live in view of the truth—the wise thing to do is to walk in the light of what truth is known, and constantly to strive for new truth. This was a solid foundation—on this I might build but little, but that little would stand. [p. 185.]

Among the results in individual students of this search for truth were the following: more toleration, greater desire for further knowledge, "a stimulus to tolerant intellectual development," a more vital faith, a readiness to leave "many questions still open and unsettled." (p. 183.)

Here the need of scientific mental hygiene is especially seen. Three of the deepest of all human interests, religion, science and hygiene, unite in emphasizing the true prophylactic and remedy. Religion,—at least certain religions, notably the Christian religion,—emphasizes the saving power of the truth and demands a form of living righteous in the light of truth. Of course all sorts of sophistries and false beliefs and artificial dogmas and the

like have grown up in connection with religion; but the fundamental principle is autotelic righteousness on the basis of truth.

Mental hygiene, however, is concerned with no special creed or any lack of creed; but it is concerned with every kind of mental conflict.

The great questions of religion and science the intelligent adolescent is bound to face sooner or later. For a single illustration, one may take the conception of the Deity. This lies outside the field of scientific investigation; and here, as in all similar problems, where science cannot weigh or measure or obtain adequate data, the attitude is one of suspended judgment. The student who has acquired the real scientific attitude recalls the wisdom of the Greek sophist Protagoras, who is reported to have said in regard to the gods, whether they exist or not, we do not know, "Let us assert nothing, let us deny nothing, let us wait."

Students who feel that, where science can give no satisfactory answer, nevertheless in such matters individual faith is justified, may find their position approximated by the following statement of general belief by the Advancement Committee of Friends: ¹⁸

We have deferred until this point the use of the word GOD—a word of diverse and uncertain meaning. To us GOD means a unifying influence which makes men long for a brotherly world; which tends to bind men together in unity. . . . Of course we do not claim to know if God is a person as we are persons. As we look ourselves over it doesn't seem altogether probable that the power which draws humanity together into the spirit of brotherhood is just a greater person than ourselves. But "It is not a question of personality or something less, but of personality or something greater."

It is noteworthy that the conception of the Deity, presented by Dean Pound and the other wise men of this Committee in the statement of their faith, is the conception of a unifying, integrating influence.

In all the practical questions of adjustment, however, often the serious difficulty is that one cannot wait for the scientific solution of the problems involved, but action of some kind is necessary at once. Here, however, as already suggested, the scientific attitude is one of intelligent experimentation, and however tragic the results may be, the game of life demands in such situations that one experiment as best one may. Although some individuals will always refuse to play the game under such conditions, the wholesome attitude is that of doing the best one can, of being ready to face the results with a sense of dependence on the sanity of the universe, or faith, if you prefer.

Here the intelligent student will probably meet what may appear a serious difficulty, threatening the fundamental hygienic conception of integration itself. How can the many and diverse traits of human personality be integrated anyway; how can the survivals of infantilisms and the discordant, conflicting, and disintegrating attitudes of later life be harmonized in one whole; how is the scientific attitude of suspense, asserting nothing, denying nothing, waiting, compatible with integration? Of course it is not, if one takes an absolute conception of integration. But the hygienic conception of integration is relative, like that of the functional integration of the nervous system, as illustrated by Sherrington and Lashley.

Such problems are not merely problems of adolescence, but they occur, Mrs. Hollingworth²⁴ believes, at any time when the mental age is twelve or more. She reports that in children with an I.Q. of 180 or more whom she

Among the collegiate questions which are used to agitate the student mind are the possibility of motion, the proper approach to infinity, the freedom of the will, the quantum theory of matter, or money, the rise of the industrial revolution, the degradation of energy which may bring creation to a standstill, the origin of man, behaviorism, the split infinitive, the nature of beauty, individualism, electrons, insects, ablatives, the Hanseatic league, the glacial period, the various presidential administrations, and so on *ad indefinitum*.

This confusion from the appeal of many subjects is nothing, however, compared to the distracting subjective stimuli in the minds of many adolescents and the appeal of many stimuli that aggravate this internal commotion. Not merely the manifold forms of legitimate recreation, but for many the lure of the underworld, the half world, and the appeal of the hootlegger, the gambler, and the pseudo-scientific warnings of quacks of every kind. When we add such distractions to the more or less distracting chaos of a rich and varied curriculum, we may perhaps agree with the writer just quoted who adds: "The wonder is that so few show symptoms of mental aberration, that only a pathetic few draw the fatalistic conclusion and then make hurried flight from the confusion."

The Value of Life

Fortunate is the youth who discovers early the positive value of existence itself. To the adolescent question, "Is the game of life worth playing?" one who succeeds in making his self-study serious and objective finds that the great adventure is life itself, that this is worth while for its own sake. If one would find examples of normal healthy-mindedness as well as egoism, fear, superstition, and conceit, read Dickens and Hawthorne and Kipling.

Better still, go among the workers in our industries and on our farms. Together with whatever evils of poverty, disease, avarice, injustice, and cruelty, one finds also the cheer of the day's work, the zest of life itself, the thrill of the game or the fight. This sometimes appears most strongly where some of the ordinary means of life and activity are curtailed. This morning on the street I met an old friend, a perennial adolescent, who two or three years ago suffered a shock and since has been fighting to regain the use of the muscles on the stricken side of his body. He was one of the most cheerful men I talked with, said he was glad to be living, never felt better in his life, except in his walking, and that was continually improving.

A Mental Hygienist

Adolescence is the great opportunity for both instruction and training in regard to mental health. Mental hygiene helps student and teacher alike to understand the meaning of many puzzling things and to develop a wholesome objective interest in the problems themselves. For this purpose of personal training in school or college, not only should scientific study and thinking be emphasized by the teachers; but if possible a mental hygienist with suitable training and character should be employed, one who not only understands youth but who has broad training in science and mental hygiene; and this specialist should be accessible to each individual student as personal advisor.

Although the privacy of the youth's individual personality should be deemed sacred, and although it is well to be cautious not in any way to prescribe or urge or even prematurely to suggest the study of self, a begin-

ning of self-discovery and a safe method are suggested by experiments already made. The results of studies by Hetherington, as I understand, indicate that the interest of boys and girls in their own health arises at a relatively early age, much earlier probably than most people would suppose. The experiments by Emerson¹⁷ show also a method by which, with care, an objective interest in the study of one's own physical condition may be developed. He determined by direct questions the health habits of the students in regard to such matters as the following: fast eating, rest periods, irregular habits, irregular time of bowel movement, irregular bed time, injurious health habits, overdoing at work or play, and many others.

The Diagnosis of Health

Emerson's idea is that the diagnosis of one's health is as important as the diagnosis of one's physical disorders; and his plan of a positive health diagnosis has already been shown by experiments at Dartmouth College and elsewhere to be of great practical significance, not merely in arousing an objective interest in one's own physical condition of health, but in giving substantial practical results in definite improvement of the health of students who have engaged in such study of themselves.

By beginning with a method like Emerson's, studying objectively one's own health habits and the scientific facts in regard to personal hygiene, the adolescent may be introduced to the general study of self without arousing a sense of inferiority or stimulating unduly the habit of introspection. Since, as we have noted, adolescents are likely to introspect anyway, it is probably far better

for most to make a definite attempt to gain real self-knowledge than to drift along in confusion, daydreaming, and desultory consideration of their own projects and ambitions, which is likely to be the alternative.

According to Adler, the most important single factor in individual psychology is what he calls the feeling of inferiority. In early years one sees many expressions of this in the attempt to overcome the feeling itself. Later it becomes in all individuals, child or adult, the stimulus to a striving for the goal of superiority. This is the background of all Adler's studies. Without denying at all the vast importance of this sense of inferiority, it may be doubted whether it is so universal as it appears in the Adlerian doctrine.

So far as the writer is aware, there is no significant evidence that normal children in the early years of life have this sense of inferiority. The studies of Piaget, on the other hand, which show, as we have seen, that the first six or seven years of life is an egocentric period, would suggest that conceit rather than a sense of inferiority would prevail.

At a later period, however, significant evidence is furnished by the experimental studies of Spearman that children do have a strong desire for superiority. Thus his studies show a high positive correlation of the desire to excel with such desirable qualities as kindness, corporate spirit, trustworthiness, conscientiousness, and interest in religion. The desire to excel does not merely differ in degree from the other self qualities, but it is absolutely opposed to them. It shows a positive correlation, they a negative one, with the good qualities.

If this should be corroborated, Spearman says: "There would seem to ensue corollaries of immense mag-

nitude. The fact that the desire to excel correlates in low degree with all the other self-qualities, but in high degree with all the good qualities, appears to supply a foundation pillar for education and even for legislation." (p. 47.)

Vicarious Personality Traits

Especially at adolescence it is desirable that the youth should be regarded as an integrated whole. At this period the integrated personality may be very different from the intelligence rating of the individual. Brooks,⁵ in his detailed presentation of the psychology of adolescence, presents the relation of different personality traits with intelligence, as based on a study of high-school students, and he notes that some of these traits are more closely connected with intelligence. On the practical significance of this he comments as follows:

Intelligence appears to be more of a factor in some traits than it is in others. For such important moral qualities as co-operation, regularity, persistence, trustworthiness, and respect for authority it is a less significant element than it is for initiative, force of personality, retentiveness of memory, and quickness of thought. . . . The general principles of their integration are the same at adolescence as before and after. [p. 431.]

A prime duty of every parent and teacher in the training of children before puberty is to respect the personality of each child, whatever its intelligence level. At adolescence the youth should learn to respect himself; and even at the risk of developing that conceit which makes the judicious grieve, the youth should have opportunity to develop and express his own personality.

With the development in recent years of mass studies, of standardized methods, and mental tests, and with the

emphasis on the important results of such studies, inevitably the attention of teachers has been turned to these newer studies, and personality has been neglected.

Aids to Self-Discovery

Among attitudes especially helpful in the attempt at self-discovery is a sense of humor. One who cultivates this attitude may often see himself as others do; and instead of seeing everything with the false halo of egoism, is able to look at certain experiences and mental attitudes as if they were in another individual. Thus one gets a wholesome form of the objective attitude, and an illumination and purification of one's mental processes and judgments of self which clarify one's whole mental apperception. Allport's suggestions are valuable:¹

"Ratings by associates, interviews with competent persons, comparisons of oneself with others, humor, and general social contacts are indispensable positive aids in the task of self-evaluation. A scientific approach to ourselves must be mingled with an attitude of humility and resignation in finally facing ourselves as we are." (p. 583.)

Thus the first thing, worth while for its own sake, is an objective scientific attitude toward oneself. This is not easy, but if the youth, boy or girl, has gained some little practice in objective thinking in prepubertal years, this can in many individuals, perhaps in all normal youth, be transferred to the study of self with the nascent interest of the adolescent in all things relating to self-discovery. Here too, Allport has given helpful suggestions. Insight in regard to the individual's success in this attempt at self-discovery is gained by re-

moving the various forms of self-deception, one's fear of real tests, one's attempts to run away from the test, to struggle against it or to ignore it and defy it; and besides this, positive aids have been suggested by this psychologist.

Aids to Development

To prevent overdevelopment, conceit, and the arrest of development at the child stage of hypertrophy of the ego, it should be especially noted that all forms of objective education are helpful; all scientific studies, all the different forms of manual and industrial work, all forms of nature study, all social activities and all the different arts of life and the like, should be fostered. The development of broad educational interests and the objective attitudes involved in every form of genuine scholarship, the study of the humanities involving all the great culture interests of life, everything pertaining to really higher education and research, are important for protection against the overdevelopment of the ego.

Of all the preventives and antidotes for unwholesome emotions, few if any, except scientific study, are better than physical exercise, especially in play and sport. For here not only does the individual have a wholesome task, the stimulus that comes from orderly purposive activity, but also a means of expressing his feelings normally, and in the team sports at least development of the wholesome habit of self-sacrifice, the opportunity for the stimulus of success on the one hand and for measuring one's own ability with the greater ability and achievements of others, and withal the integration of the whole individual, intellect and emotion alike, in

objective activities. This involves excellent training in responses of the total personality, of the whole integrated organism, uniting body and mind in one unity.²¹

The most important thing of all for the adolescent is the choosing of his own special task; and devotion to this is the natural preventive and remedy for undue egoism. In the old days when the great task for a man was war, did not Shakespeare write "He that is truly dedicate to war hath no self-love"? (Henry VI, V, 2, 38.) May we not likewise say: He that is truly dedicate to any worth while task hath no self-love.

Rightly educators have made this aim of self-discovery and self-realization the dominant one at this adolescent period, and for that reason often advocate the placing of many subjects in the curriculum, the giving of opportunity for manifold activities in various lines, so that the youth may discover what they are really interested in, what they can do best, what their special abilities really are.

Next in importance to self-discovery by the youth is the discovery of youth by parents and teachers. The latter may be even more difficult than the former. The adolescent, in the storm and stress of self-discovery, yearns for sympathy and understanding; but how shall parents who are absorbed in self or business give sympathy, or how shall teachers who are ignorant of youth give understanding? The study of adolescents in recent years gives prevision for a few important things, which are emphasized by mental hygiene, and are helpful to parents and teachers. Some of the outstanding ones were suggested in the summary of the preceding chapter.

Personality the Great Gift.—At this period of renaissance of the personality, especially helpful to many

adolescents is likely to be a knowledge of the Greek conception of the healthful personality and the development of this conception by the Stoic and Christian thinkers, and in modern times by German and English philosophers and psychologists. This conception emphasized personality as the unique possession of the individual, something so supremely important that it became the goal of living, an individual gift to which nothing else can compare.

The ideal of personality as developed during the romantic period by Herder, Kant, and Goethe, has been well described by McCormack. It was Goethe's life, however, that especially illustrated it. Of him McCormack says:³⁷

"Goethe played the Olympian rôle, or *persona*, as it had never been played since the time of Pericles. He realized in his own person the Hellenic ideals of poise, balance, and measure—of perfect inward and outward adjustment—of both mental and physical health. He made himself the incorporation of the eternally human, and set that incorporation as the goal for the development of every individual." (p. 41.)

The philosophical conception of this ideal culminated in Lotze, who applied it practically in his famous lectures to the German people at the time when Prussia was humiliated under Napoleon, giving the inspiring message that they should atone for what they had lost in the material world by progress in literature and science.

Applying his philosophy of personality in politics, he formulated the principle: "The German citizen is everything, Germany is nothing." The aim thus formulated was exactly the reverse of that developed in the early

part of the present century, which might be formulated as follows: "The German citizen is nothing, Germany is everything."

One of the best means of preventing a sense of inferiority is such a conception of one's own personality. The significance of this was never perhaps expressed so simply and beautifully as in the following verses by Goethe:

Volk und Knecht und Überwinder,
 Sie gestehn zu jeder Zeit:
 Höchstes Glück der Erdenkinder
 Sei nur die Persönlichkeit.

It is impossible to translate the beauty of this into English. Put roughly in prose, the meaning in substance is this:

"People, and slave and victor, have existed at every age. The greatest fortune of the children of earth is merely personality."

At this period in England and Germany many others besides Goethe, as McCormack would doubtless agree, also illustrated the conception of the romantic period. One of the most remarkable of these was the gymnast Jahn.⁹ He not only taught this ideal of personality to his students, but illustrated it in his patriotic activities and in his own life. As a boy he seems to have had an unusual regard for his own personality. The story is told of him that once in school his teacher gave as a subject for a composition: "The character in history I should like to be." Jahn refused to write on the subject, saying that he was not willing to be anybody but himself.

We are not concerned with the many philosophies that

have developed in regard to this subject, but this ideal held by the Christian and Romantic thinkers, of personality as the unique possession of the individual and a worthy goal of life, is so stimulating that it is likely to be helpful to many students.

Another German of a little later period, Carl Schurz, not only seems to have had a wholesome personality, but was a notable example of an adolescent who discovered himself. Schurz came to this country, he stated, under the urge of what he called an irresistible impulse to find himself, which he accomplished so successfully in the doing of great tasks that to-day he is honored everywhere, as shown in the recent celebration of the hundredth anniversary of his birth.

Reading as an Aid to Self-Discovery

While the important thing for the adolescent is training in actually doing his own task and social training in a normal group, familiarity with the outstanding personalities described in classic literature, ancient and modern, is likely to be helpful. Such are the many examples in ancient oriental literature, especially that of India, China, and Japan; the Greek and Roman classics; and the modern French, German, English, and Scandinavian literature; as well as in the history and literature of America.

A library for adolescents would naturally contain representative books in this wide field. The opportunity for boys and girls to read at their own will in such a library would be helpful, at least to some, and it would stimulate respect for the diverse forms of human personality among their fellows and in the world at large.

Of course the reading for adolescents must largely

be optional; but, without prescription, opportunity can be given for reading the best literature; and what is best for youth is largely what deals especially with reality. First of all, scientific literature, then biographies of modern scientific character, those that truthfully portray the development and characteristics of great men presenting fairly and judiciously both faults and virtues, not those that are chiefly negative and critical, bringing out faults in large letters and neglecting virtue, nor on the other hand those that present merely flattering pictures of merit and achievement, with solvents or camouflage for all faults. Here should be included Armstrong's *Heroes of Defeat*² as well as the biographies of successful leaders. Von Scheffel's *Eckehard*, George Eliot's *Romola*, and some other historical novels may well be included.

Again, in the library open to youth, may well be placed true stories of travel and adventure, no matter how exciting and seemingly improbable, if they are reliable; and the same test should determine the choice of historical literature; whatever is the result of the modern strictly scientific method is especially desirable.

The same criterion applies to fiction. Although this is the field of imagination, nevertheless the literature that truthfully portrays human nature may be chosen—Shakespeare, for example, who so truthfully held the mirror up to nature, and of novel writers those like Dickens, who portrays in such masterly fashion the commonplace realities in the everyday life of ordinary men and women.

All forms of literature may well be accessible, imaginative, realistic, scientific, economic, industrial, mechanical, sociological, philosophical, anthropological, psycho-

logical, geographical, and hygienic. The library may well, of course, be especially rich in the literature of mental hygiene. Wide opportunity for varied reading will at least aid the youth to discover his own interest in literature. It is likely to do much more than this by giving stimulus and prevision for the objective study of self.

Such books, helpful for self-discovery and for self-development, may be found in any large library. Some of them are likely to be accessible in any school or college library.

The Supreme Opportunity

Our brief survey of the possibilities of an objective study of self has emphasized the great value this may have in conditioning healthful development of the personality. For many youth it is likely to have great value also as a condition of individual efficiency. For some it will mean the opportunity to find one's self in some great task that one can do with individual success and social service. For many it will mean the integration of the personality about one's task as a focus.

The unsurpassed opportunity at adolescence for a new birth of personality is clear. It is not merely a period for emancipation from one's parents, important as that is. It is not merely a period for normal development of heterosexuality and the social training that prepares in a broad way for home and family, and life in normal social groups. It is not merely the time of preparation for business or professional life. It is the time of opportunity for a renaissance of personality in a much deeper sense, the opportunity for discovering one's real self, the oldest and deepest secrets about oneself, the

potentialities of oneself, the unique gift of one's individual personality.

It is especially noteworthy that adolescence gives the opportunity to discover the value of life. To all adolescent pessimists, doubters, and anæmic youth, who sometimes ask the question mentioned above, whether the game of life is worth the candle, hygiene may answer again in the simple and noble lines of Goethe:

Jedes Leben ist zu führen
Wenn man nicht sich selbst vermisst.
Alles könne man verliehren
Wenn man bliebe was man ist.

Freely, in dull English prose: "Every life is worth living, if one does not overlook himself. One may lose everything if one remains what one is."

And, finally, whatever the confusion, and difficulty, and mental conflict, and whatever the emotional storm and stress, adolescence is the opportunity for integration of the personality at a higher level.

SUMMARY

In this discussion no attempt has been made to tell the whole long and exciting story of adolescent self-discovery. But a score of things have been mentioned that may be discovered by the boys and girls who are able to study self objectively. A few of the outstanding discoveries may be summarized:

1. The youth, boy or girl, may discover his own personality. But the chances are that he will not. If he is fortunate he will acquire the next best thing—an intelligent ignorance.

2. The youth may do what is easier, discover his

own ego—probably the central factor in his personality.

3. The youth may be fortunate enough to discover his own special ability—the one thing he can really do well, his own task—a wholesome focus about which he can unify or integrate his personality.

4. The youth probably will discover his own emotional life—certain uncontrollable impulses and passions perhaps. It will be fortunate if he has a significant task as an anchor of control.

5. The youth will discover survivals in his own mind of certain childish attitudes. It will be well for his mental health if he can outgrow them, or compensate for them.

6. The youth will discover certain mental conflicts. Again it will be well for his mental health if he tries to solve the serious ones, as Holt has suggested, by integration of the conflicting demands at a higher level.

7. The youth may discover his parents. It will be fortunate if this leads to mutual understanding and to a normal emancipation without friction and sorrow.

8. The youth may discover his own errors, and it will be of vast importance if he acquires the scientific attitude and the rudiments of right thinking.

9. The youth may discover his own weak spots and by training overcome them or avoid them and compensate for them.

10. The youth may discover in himself social interests and ability along the line of certain tasks, important, whether great or small—the ability to render significant social service and gain the wholesome stimulus of social success.

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THE RENAISSANCE OF PERSONALITY 607

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CHAPTER XVII

THE GENETIC POINT OF VIEW

IN the last two chapters we have noted the theory that adolescence is the focal point in human development. Whether we accept this in full or not, the genetic point of view in general is fundamental to hygiene. The hygiene of the child is different from that of the adult because the child is a growing organism. The hygiene of the adolescent is different from that of the mature adult because the youth is in a process of special and enhanced development.

It has been shown with many illustrations how very fruitful is the conception of integration. Apparently, as we have seen, this is a fundamental characteristic of the infant; and in spite of decline it very largely remains in old age. Everywhere at all stages it is characteristic of normality.

The genetic point of view is also pregnant with suggestion for individual hygiene. The normal course of development is a sequence of integrations at higher and higher levels. The statement of this by Holt, already referred to, is of wide significance. Again the simple statement that in normal development the mature adult has put away childish attitudes is the key to the hygiene of personality.

I. APPLICATIONS OF THE GENETIC METHOD

The genetic method consists in studying facts in their genesis and wider causal relations. It was made per-

manent in science by Darwin and emphasized in education by Froebel. The great significance of the method in the study of educational problems was shown in a broad way by G. Stanley Hall. Both its scientific and its practical importance are made clear by the results of its use in recent years. As a method of school practice in higher education, this study of significant facts in their causal relations stands in direct contrast with what has been called the elementary method, which consists chiefly in noting things as isolated facts without regard to their relations.

The importance of studying psychological facts in their genesis has been shown by recent study in mental hygiene. The practical value of this method has been shown by Gault in his experiments, substituting the more primitive sense of touch for hearing; and it has been emphasized, in the clinical work of Young in Indiana University, of De Busk in the University of Oregon, and in many child clinics throughout the country. The wider possibilities of its use seem unlimited and represent one of the most promising new movements in the application of mental hygiene to-day.

A few of the especially important applications of the genetic point of view and genetic method in education may well be mentioned. First, in a general way, is the application of this method in the shifting emphasis on the different aims of education at different periods of development. Without this application of the genetic point of view, grave errors occur.

Second, as a corollary almost from this, we may say, is the need to give opportunity for development of the fundamental and more central organs and processes before the accessory and more peripheral in the neuro-

the higher stages of training and higher education, as it may be called relatively.

A few illustrations from recent investigations will serve as examples of results already obtained by the genetic method.

Genetic Studies

Recent studies have shown the great importance of the child's development in the early years of preschool life. Naturally these studies have been devoted especially to physical development and the simple responses of the child to the stimuli of the environment. The observations of Watson have illustrated the vast importance of the learned responses the child acquires in making contacts with its environment. The studies of Charlotte Bühler⁸ in Vienna by carefully controlled experiments in regard to definite reactions of the young child have shown fundamental developments at this period. The genetic studies by Gesell, Professor of Child Hygiene at Yale, have concerned the development of the whole personality, mind and body alike, and have given us our best account of the development of the preschool child. No improvement can be made on his brief statement, the result of his studies, of the outstanding acquisitions of the child for the first five years. His summary is as follows:¹⁰

The one-month-old babe blinks but cannot even hold up his head; the four-month-old babe gazes at a one-inch cubical block placed before him but fails to pick it up; the six-month-old infant seizes the block with executive directness and puts it to the mouth; the nine-month infant bangs it against a cup in combining play; the year-old subject unwraps it from a paper covering; the eighteen-months youngster stands on his own feet

he needs ample opportunity for exercise and adventure.

Special Studies of Children.—All the early pioneer investigations of children in this country and still earlier in Germany gave a significant foundation; and the broad genetic studies by G. Stanley Hall and others contributed important results and showed the wide possibilities of the genetic method. Already many important investigations have been made, not only studies of the development of the whole personality, like those of Gesell and Charlotte Bühler, but also investigations in many different fields. A few of these may be given as illustrations.

Genetic Studies of Emotion.—The studies of the emotions of young children by Bridges⁸ furnishes a good example of scientific work in this field, and he gives an outline of a genetic theory of emotion, together with the description of some concrete examples of emotion in young children.

The first genetic stage of emotion is the undifferentiated condition of excitement described by Stratton. This is an original undifferentiated emotion, resulting in somewhat uncoördinated visceral and skeletal reactions in response to gross stimulation of any kind. Some of these again become differentiated, conditioned to certain stimuli, and combined with particular skeletal responses. These differentiated responses form the different well-known emotions.

The first two emotions differentiated in infancy, according to the observations of Bridges, are distress and delight. The former expresses itself in attention, checked breathing, and crying in response to disturbing stimuli; the latter in smiling, cooing, and relaxed attention in response to pleasing stimuli. These results

seem to corroborate the observations of Zoepffel, who found in the babies studied by him expression of distress and delight at an early period.

At a later stage in infancy distress is differentiated. Certain components in combination with instinctive avoidance and aggression form fear and anger. Delight is also differentiated into joy and affection; the former in relation to specific events and objects, the latter in relation to persons.

At the nursery school age Bridges found the emotions of fear, anger, joy, and attention also. In addition to these specific emotions, the earlier and less differentiated emotions continue. The particular emotion Bridges found to be distinguished more by the general behavior in connection with the situation that arouses it than by accompanying visceral reactions. The latter vary with individuals and in different instances of the same emotion.

The form of emotional behavior changes with general development. Even excitement, distress, and delight, when they occur in later childhood and adult life, are modified and comprise more organized behavior responses. Thus Bridges and Dashiell agree that the emotions are largely acquired. No two individuals develop the same set of emotions, but there are some emotions based on common experience that are much the same for all persons.

The debated problem is in regard to how far the emotions are innate, and how far acquired. The evidence at present indicates that Watson was right in his conclusion some years ago, that love, fear, and anger are clearly innate. In regard to some other states of feeling often called emotions, such as excitement, delight, and

distress, the question seems to be still open; but the other emotions, for the most part, seem to be largely acquired.

Negativism.—One manifestation of the ego common in childhood has recently received considerable attention, the so-called negativism. During this phase the child reacts negatively to whatever is said. In a typical case observed by the writer to everything suggested by the father the child said "No"—twenty times in a period of five minutes. All this, of course, is very annoying to parents and friends. But even this, in some children at least, may have an important function in relation to the will.

Development of the Will.—Not only parents and teachers, but even psychologists and mental hygienists, know little about the child at this period. With the scientific studies new facts of great importance are being learned. One of the most significant is that discovered by Charlotte Bühler, as she believes, in regard to the nascent period of the will at the age of three or four. At this time it is noted that in many children a definite assertion of the will occurs, and being perhaps the first epoch in self-discovery, the child takes great pleasure in self-assertion. Naturally enough this often takes a negative form, that of resistance to parental authority; sometimes the child is obstinate and defiant, and some children repeat over and over again the words, "I won't, I won't," or "No, No."

If Charlotte Bühler be right in her inference that this early period of self-assertion at the age of three or four has significant value for the training of the will, and the child thwarted in this loses an important increment for healthful development, we have another reason

for letting children alone as much as possible at this time. Karl Bühler² adopts the same view, and stresses the significance of giving opportunity for this early assertion of the will.

On the basis of extensive statistical material about six-year-old children and several years' experience as educational advisers, we can say that if this obstinate, defiant stage is not developed (for reasons as yet unknown), we must expect serious disturbances in the development of the child's will. Children of six and over who are weak-willed and uncontrolled and are in need of constant supervision to keep them at one task, but who, on the other hand, succumb to every temptation . . . are very often children who have not passed through the "defiant" stage. [p. 163.]

It is perhaps too soon to generalize and infer that all children pass through this stage of will development in the early years. More observations on this point should be made.

Long ago G. Stanley Hall expressed the belief that children develop more healthfully if they exercise and develop to the full each phase of personality growth in the normal genetic sequence. According to this principle, the child that exercises and develops to the full his egoistic impulses during the first six years will be the better prepared for social and, later on, for altruistic development.

Early Stages of Social Development

The earlier genetic studies were largely concerned with physical growth and development. In more recent years attention has been given by scientific students to mental development and the development of the total personality. Some of the earlier stages of social development

have been briefly summed up by an excellent German investigator, Karl Bühler, in part as follows: ⁹

The child of one to two years can only take part in a group of two. It cannot as yet enter into relations with more than one other. At the end of the second year contact is possible between three. The group that contains three or four members is preferred by all young children. The school child, on the other hand, always tries to become a member of as large a group as possible. The greater the rôle of the companion of the same age, the less the importance of adults, to whom the child is in the beginning exclusively attached. The relations between the child and its young companions at first exist side by side with those towards adults, but at length gain the upper hand entirely. [p. 166.]

Development of Human Impulses

A genetic development of human impulses, or instincts and attitudes if one prefer, is possible. This is well illustrated by the much discussed development of rivalry and coöperation. A genetic sequence somewhat as follows is natural:

First, from the primitive impulse to activity, rivalry develops in the members of any social group; second is coöperation and self-sacrifice of the members of the group in competition with another in group rivalry; the third stage is coöperation and self-sacrifice of the individual in the larger social groups—community, party, professional group, church, state, or nation; fourth, coöperation in some great cosmopolitan group—the fellowship of scientific workers, of the church, of world citizens, and the like—where individual interest, local bias, and national prejudice are sacrificed to universal brotherhood and cosmopolitan coöperation.

It is reasonable, but not natural, to teach and train

from the start for this highest cosmopolitan ideal. This may be pleasing to high ambition and sentiment, and to that pedagogical impatience that cannot wait for the normal development of "the full corn in the ear"; but it is not natural. It is not wholesome. Since, for the first seven or eight years of life, the child is normally egocentric, probably he gains an important social background and learns all he is fitted for of social relations from rivalry in these early years, and perhaps is all the better prepared for the later stages of training in co-operation because of his whole-hearted selfishness in his first social contacts and by meeting, in his first activities in social groups, the iron laws of possibility and impossibility, as he did during infancy in making his contacts with natural objects.

Each of these stages of development is preparatory to the higher stages. Training at each should prepare for higher developments; but at each stage there is danger of arrest. As everybody knows, few men and women ever attain to the highest, the cosmopolitan ideal, and many never reach the stage of coöperation in the larger social groups; but in a world where the best things come by growth this danger of arrest is inevitable.

On the other hand, there is the danger of precocious development. Although a few superior individuals may be able to telescope the lower stages, in such development most people need training in them all. Without this, some increment of normal education seems to be lost, and any artificial forcing of higher stages gives the opportunity for pathological developments. Thus here, as generally, mental hygiene is inclined to look upon precocious development as quite as dangerous as arrest of development.

Genetic Sequence of Motives

Again, a genetic development of social motives is natural. First of all the child is self-centered and normally does things for self-interest.

A later and higher motive is shown in doing things for the sake of father or mother or other member of the family group or perhaps for the sake of a playmate.

Third, a still higher motive is where a child does things for the sake of the small social group of which it may be a member, the family group, the playground group, the gang, the baseball team, or the like.

Fourth, later on, such higher motives as the welfare of some larger group—a fraternity or church or political party or the like—may afford the motive.

Fifth, still higher motives, like public service, aid to one's fellow beings as member of a professional group, and the training and education of oneself for the sake of rendering service, represent specially high developments of human motives.

As Thorndike has pointed out, it is desirable in the training of children to appeal to the highest available motive. It may well be added, however, from the genetic point of view, that this should be a motive normal to the given stage of development. Otherwise it is liable to be futile or even to be the occasion of some artificial and precocious development. We cannot, probably, appeal advantageously to the motive of service to the group at the egocentric period of the first seven or eight years.

The Danger of Error

As soon as one takes the genetic point of view two facts impress one: first, the great value of this method;

and second, the small amount of knowledge we already have from the use of it in the study of human individuals. The value of a method, however, does not necessarily depend on the number of times it has been used; and in this case, however meager our knowledge, the importance of using the method is clear. Applied to children and youth it concerns concretely the study of the genesis of the human being and the sequence of the stages of individual development. Here human reason is in danger from certain pitfalls, some of the most serious of which may be mentioned.

Teacher and parent and so-called educator, all alike, may well be on their guard against the tendency to mythology in regard to the early years of childhood. The first year especially, as Piaget³⁶ has pointed out, is a time of problems and mysteries; but because we do not know much about the child's emotions and processes of thought, we should not anthropomorphize and attribute the creations of our own phantasy to the child's mind. To do this there is a subtle temptation. Here is the opportunity to spin metaphysical systems, here the chance to find striking examples of our own theories; the more tempting to some thinkers apparently because neither child nor adult can refute any armchair mythology that may be invented.

Again, at the period of adolescence, investigators who are interested in the practical training of youth are in danger especially from the temptation to mistake neuroses and psychoses of development for phases of delinquency or degeneration. Not only are many physical defects—for example, cardiac disorders, symptoms of renal disease, and the like—which are incidents of growth, liable to be mistaken for chronic diseases;

but many mental disorders, idiosyncrasies of behavior, emotional aberrations, and the like, which are likewise incidents of development, are liable to be mistaken for permanent mental disorders. Make the environment hygienic and both are likely to be outgrown.

Thus, if we make our study concrete and objective, we may avoid what Piaget calls the abyss of mythology in regard to the first year or two of life;³⁶ and in the practical application of our knowledge in the training of youth at adolescence, if we keep in mind the wide range of personality differences, we may be saved from the tragedy of misunderstanding youth. Here as elsewhere rigorous scientific methods alone protect the student from error.

II. GENETIC METHODS IN EDUCATION

One of the most important contributions from the genetic point of view is the clear general statement it gives of the shifting emphasis on the aims of education at different periods of development. In its briefest form this may be summarized as follows:

In the first six or seven years of life—a period of which we know little, except that it is a period of growth, that a child seems to be egocentric, and is susceptible to contagious diseases. The main things are to protect a child from his enemies, especially disease and human spoilers; also to make the environment healthful, to give opportunity for spontaneous motor activity out of doors, and freedom, as far as possible, for the child to make his own contacts with the world, to learn nature's laws of possibility and impossibility, and, associated with these, obedience in a few things. This is, as Rousseau called it, a negative education, where, on the

one hand, a child is let alone as far as possible; and, on the other hand, is led to acquire a few fundamental habits of health. The emphasis is on health and freedom for spontaneous motor activity.

The next period, that from seven or eight to puberty, a time of relatively slow rate of growth, a plateau in development, seems to be a time for getting essentials of health, morals and education. It is the time when the emphasis should be upon drill, repetition, the automatization of essential habits, habits of learning and of health; a time when individual differences begin to appear more prominently, not merely in introversion and extraversion, and in the dominantly cyclothyme character in contrast with the schizothyme, but also other individual differences; notably those with social interests and those with mechanical interests; and even more fundamentally, perhaps, those with strong eidetic ability, contrasted with those having little or none; and most important of all perhaps the difference between the so-called integrated and the disintegrated types; but in all a time for practice.

Again, adolescence, as we have noted, is marked by a great increase in development, physical and mental, and gives the great opportunity for the objective study of the world of nature and of human life, especially the opportunity for the objective study of self and the acquisition of self-knowledge. At this period emphasis may naturally be placed on the study of many things and upon reality. The normal youth at this period desires to know the truth; and, for the time at least being relatively free from convention and from the fetters of habit, is able to think for himself, and feels in honor bound to do so.

We have also called attention to the period of maturity as the time when childish ways are outgrown, when the survivals of childish attitudes should be overcome, and when normally the personality becomes integrated in some great task.

The Genetic Method in Various Subjects

The practical value of the genetic method and point of view is well illustrated by noting examples of its application in the different subjects of school and college education.

Language.—In the most fundamental of social acquisitions, the acquisition of language, the proper genetic sequence is also imperative. No adequate studies in regard to this have been made; but clearly the genetic point of view is the one from which the problem should be studied; and the investigations made by Garbini,¹⁸ Gutzman,²² Piaget,^{26, 27, 28} and others, should form the basis of our rules for linguistic training. The social function of language should also be regarded.

Reading.—Here not only should the general rules for motor training be considered; but as regards the mental processes involving right mental attitudes, the larger and more interesting aspects, as Parker has shown,³³ should be emphasized in the beginning of the accomplishment, and the minutiae of technique and the like should come later.

Writing.—In writing, the same general principles that apply to motor training in general should be considered; and here again the making of lines straight and curved, large letters, exercising the large muscles of the arm, should be propædæutic to the finer coördinations involving hand and finger movements.

Music.—In music it should be noted that the young child has a voice compass of only five or six notes. Many of the songs that children are asked to sing in the elementary grades and probably in many kindergartens are beyond the compass of their voices, and the children in trying to follow a leader who happens to have a greater voice compass, are likely to strain their voices. Again, the music for young children should consist of simple melodies. The technique of music is quite out of place at the first stages. As Farnsworth¹³ has shown, extended simple exercises can be given before the technique of music is required. Weld¹⁴ has outlined the essential hygiene of the voice.

Drawing.—Here again it is important that the genetic sequence should be followed. The spontaneous scribbles of children, the making of lines on a blackboard, and spontaneous drawing exercising the larger muscles, as in all motor activity, should precede the training of the more peripheral muscles in the finer coördinations. Here the drawing at first should be the spontaneous reproduction of natural objects, giving opportunity for the natural expression of the child's own interests. The exact drawing of figures, attention to details, and the grammar of drawing should not come until a much later stage.¹⁵

Arithmetic.—All this is best illustrated by concrete application of the principle in elementary arithmetic. In this universal subject of the school curriculum, what should be the sequence of the different forms of instruction in relation to the aim in the given subject? To this important problem, vital for early scientific training, no adequate answer is at hand. In fact, little attention to this question seems to have been given.

Along with the aims of formal training in arithmetic, what should be the methods of scientific training in this subject? To answer this question it is well first of all to recognize that many of the problems even in elementary arithmetic, in some textbooks and forms of instruction, are essentially problems in logic, and their significance for training should be considered from that point of view. This has already been pointed out by some students of arithmetic.¹¹

In all such problems the natural sequence of method for the child, from the genetic point of view, is first of all opportunity for observation and wide and varied experience with quantitative relations in a natural environment. With ample training of this kind, a child is prepared for the next stage which is involved in this first stage and naturally grows out of it, namely, the training necessary for developing the habit of attention to the major premise in each problem and the testing of the truth of the major premise by reference to the facts of experience. Only in this way can error be avoided and sound scientific training given.

When this method is not employed, when problems are given to be solved by rules, which to the child are naturally artificial, and soon at least become mechanical, error is liable to result. Take, for illustration, the ordinary catch problems which are often given to a child.

For example, if three men fall nine feet how far does one man fall? Children who have had little experience in quantitative relations but have had drill for one or two years in ordinary arithmetic, are likely to fall into the trap. Those that have been trained by experience in quantitative relations to give attention to the

major premise, see at once that each of the men falls the same distance.

Another, if a dog standing on three legs weighs twelve pounds, how much does the dog weigh standing on four legs? Again the child trained to consider the facts and to give attention to the major premise sees at once there is no problem here and that the dog weighs the same on four feet as on three.

Such training, giving children wide experience in quantitative relations and in testing the major premise in each problem by reference to the facts of experience, forms the natural preparation for enabling a child to profit by the experience of others. Having acquired the rudiments of scientific training, a child is naturally made open-minded and brought to see that the first-hand experience of others who are honest students may be just as reliable as one's own; and hence where others have had experience that the individual lacks, one may profit by this. Thus training is given in a fundamental attitude of sound education, the spirit of the learner, and the scientific method.

The importance of this ability to profit by the experience of others has been emphasized again and again by great educators, and has perhaps been unduly emphasized by ordinary teachers who have failed to recognize the need of training of the child to utilize his own experience as preparatory to this higher stage of profiting by the experience of others.

The significance of the right sequence here is illustrated by the fact that children who lack this training in the right genetic sequence may fail to acquire this scientific spirit of the learner, and a form of precocious development be acquired which even shuts up the child's

mind and makes him unwilling and ultimately unable to profit by the experience of others, a form of egoism that inhibits learning and sound scientific development.

Especially in all such problems in regard to thinking one should take the genetic point of view, and avoid precocious and artificial acquisitions. Since the elementary view of things comes first and the higher education later, since children think largely in concrete and particular terms and in abstract terms later, there is always a subtle danger that an attempt will be made to force the higher thinking prematurely. Danger comes too, from the fact that the schools inevitably require pupils to follow largely the thinking of other people, the masters in different subjects, mere instruction of course. Hence it comes to pass that they are apt to learn about other people's thinking prematurely and have little opportunity for their own thinking. Hence the value of giving objective motor activities in the early stages. With normal children we can let the higher thinking largely take care of itself provided we do not force it prematurely.

Morals.—In the matter of morals especially, the values at stake are so tremendous, we feel that the least we can do is to develop the necessary virtues at the earliest possible moment. It is well, however, here again, to remember the words of Rousseau that even virtue prematurely developed may sow the seeds of vice. Modern psychiatry and mental hygiene have thrown a lurid light on this doctrine, because they have shown that where a virtue is developed prematurely there is liable to be a compensatory reaction which is anything but virtuous.

Again in social training, the great truth from the

genetic point of view is that the normal development of the social virtues of coöperation and the like can properly come by training in these social virtues in the smaller groups as a preparation for membership in the larger groups, the community, the state, and the nation. And, as already noted, in the individual child the natural expression of selfishness in rivalry may be the natural preparation for coöperation and social service later on.

In higher subjects of instruction as well as in the elementary branches the genetic method should be applied. For a single illustration in some detail we may take psychology.

The Genetic Method in Psychology

The application of this genetic method in a small part of the field of psychology will be enough perhaps to illustrate its value and to show how indispensable it is if we are to acquire a solid foundation for psychological truth. Again Piaget's studies furnish an example.

The Idea of Cause.—In addition to his study of the child's speech and the development of the ego in childhood, Piaget's²² investigation of the genesis of certain common ideas and philosophical conceptions gives excellent illustration of some of the genetic study possible by a student who uses rigorous scientific methods.

As Piaget points out, three theories of the origin of the idea of cause have been held. The first view is that the idea of cause is furnished by external experience, the associations imposed by things themselves. This was the view of Hume. The notion of causality, according to him, is furnished by the habits we acquire under the influence of things.

The second theory is that the idea of cause is fur-

nished by internal experience, the feeling of personal activity. This was the view of Maine de Biran. In other words, causality arises from will and muscular effort.

The third view is that the idea of cause is a relation established between things by the faculty of reason or between things and myself. It results merely from our ability in deduction. This was the view of the rationalists in general.

Children as Philosophers.—Strangely enough all of these views are true of the child at different periods of life.³⁷ When we observe infancy we see that Hume was right. In a manner altogether empirical the child establishes the relations of cause and effect. To use Piaget's illustration, when the young child at night sees the automobiles or bicycles with their lights and lanterns, he concludes that the lantern makes the bicycle go. Ask him how this can be and how the lantern turns the wheels, he knows nothing about it and cares nothing about it. For him, as for Hume, this is unimportant. The infant, however, believes that the lantern is a force, he believes it is living, that it makes the bicycle go forward. In a word, he conceives it as a sort of person. Thus we understand how the idea of causality arises from experience and is entirely empirical and a matter of habit. In fact before experience, the infant perceives things in a certain way, he projects his feelings upon the entire universe, he does not distinguish the subjective from the objective.

Maine de Biran was also right. From the cradle the child has experience of his own particular sensations, of his states of pleasure and pain, of his desires and his aversions. Now he cannot discover the external world

and get experience of the resistance of things without conceiving of things in relation to himself. Thus the notion of force, animism, is horn, in a word, all the elementary forms of causality which are much nearer psychological reality than objective physical reality. But here are grave difficulties. On the one hand, the infant conceives his ego, his thought, and the like, only by analogy with what he observes in the external world; and on the other hand, he has only a very relative consciousness of his ego. He discovers things before he discovers his own person, and he discovers the self of others before he discovers his own. It is necessary then to note that continually he confuses the subjective and the objective; but it is erroneous to say that he discovers first himself, and conceives afterwards of things analogous to himself. We can then infer that in the first years of childhood Hume and Maine de Biran refute each other. Hume is right in saying that causality with a child begins with empirical contact with objects; but he does not explain how the child conceives of things in relation to himself. Maine de Biran is right in saying that there are subjective elements in the primitive idea of causality; but he does not explain why the child concerns himself with things before he discovers himself.

Piaget remarks that one cannot fail to be struck by the parallelism that exists in great outlines between this development of causality in the child and the development of an idea of cause in the history of human society.

If the primitive idea of causality is infantile in its source, it seems undeniable that rational causality owes its existence to social influences. It is not sufficient to

say with the philosophers that the notion of causality is a form of the mind, it is necessary still to show under the influence of what condition this form has become conscious of itself. In this regard the psychology of a child is instructive. It is by the liberation of itself from its own ego that the child is able to think of things. It is by liberating themselves from social constraint and from obligatory conformity that societies arrive at reason. These two theses, so different, are less contradictory than appears; for in case of the child the egocentrism of thought and submission to authority of the adult are curiously apart. It is, then, free discussion which creates reason. Logical reflection is only inferior discussion; in effect, free discussion eliminates external authority; and egocentrism, intellectual authority. Thus as far as the idea of causality is scientific, it is a product of reason, and it is also a product of society.

Changing Ideas of Cause.—Piaget³⁷ has attempted to show that when the baby perceives a connection between one of his gestures and a movement in the external world he attributes to the gesture an efficiency, and thinks of it as producing the movement previously perceived. Thus the primitive idea of causality is at once phenomenistic and quasi magical, and hence the baby makes no distinction between his own ego and the external world, and thus considers his muscular effort as a prolongation or extension of himself into the things themselves. Now curiously enough we find many remnants of this primitive attitude in the child up to the age of three or four years. Here we have the explanation of the most primitive movements of the stars and the clouds. The child discovers that when he walks, the stars and the clouds seem to follow him. There

is a connection imposed by experience, and which as such is phenomenistic in nature, at least in its roots. Only in the presence of such observation, one can take three attitudes, and these attitudes are interesting from the point of view of causality, for they show very clearly the orientation of the child's mind.

The Phenomenistic Stage.—Continuing Piaget's genetic outline³⁸ of the development of the notion of causality in the child, he finds the second stage of this development in regard to causality on an average between the third and the seventh to the eighth years. The child continues on the one hand to follow in a very docile manner the appearance of things, although a little less than during the first stage. Thus he continues to believe that the stars follow him, but he believes this less easily in regard to the clouds. He continues to measure the stars and the clouds by his own spatial plan, but places them higher in the heavens than before. He ceases to believe that he has merely to close his own eyes to produce the night, but still thinks that if all the world should go to sleep in the middle of the day it would become dark. In short, he remains very phenomenistic, although less so than in the preceding stage. The subjective aspect of causal connections begins to become a moral connection. Really the child attempts to distinguish his own ego from that of others and attributes less efficacy to his own connections. (p. 284.)

Ask the child now how the clouds move. We find here, as in regard to the wind, a series of transitions between explanation by personal power and moral and artificial explanation. "Thus my daughter," says Piaget, "twenty months old, on seeing the clouds says: 'The sky is smoking, daddy,' by this connecting the clouds

with the smoke of her father's pipe." Here we see the movements of the clouds explained by the action of the adult. Thus a little boy of three said, "It is the machine that makes them move," because he had seen the smoke coming from the funnel of locomotives. Others give the intervention of workmen, or the good God, and more or less the hypothesis that we make the clouds move in walking or that they follow us in our course. But here also the cause of the movement becomes very quickly moral. The clouds do not move by chance, but because they have functions to perform. They move because they have to foretell rain. In some cases they must push the sun and moon, hold up the sky, and the like. They have often a function that is very far-fetched for adult intelligence; for some children they produce the night. In reality for the child, as for the first Greek thinkers up to the time of Empedocles, night is a substance, a sort of black vapor that fills the atmosphere. Now this black substance constitutes the night conceived of exactly as a product of the clouds. Consequently one of the functions of the clouds is to make the night. Thus children, when one asks them why the clouds move, often reply "To make night," or more simply "On account of night." The movement of the stars is explained in a similar manner. To part they are men whom God makes move. On the other hand they move to heat us, to give us light, to waken us, to guide us, and so on. The star guiding the three wise men to the cradle of Jesus was evidently a survival of this stage of the explanation of movement. The movement of the water in the rivers, and the like, is explained by a similar idea of causality.

In short, up to about the seventh or eighth year the

explanation of movement is likewise the idea of causality in general, and shows a continued assimilation of the physical and the moral; the movements are not due really to material causes; but where they occur, the physical mechanism of movement is only an instrument to serve the true cause, which is a moral one. This true cause is the obligation of things to accomplish their function, conforming to an harmonious plan of which man is at once the author and the true cause.

The Dynamism Explanation.—Up to about seven or eight, the physical causes of movement are those that are neither indispensable nor sufficient. To be sure, the child says that it is the wind that makes the clouds and the stars and the rivers move; but the wind is only a means utilized by these bodies as the bird utilizes the breeze in its flight. Without this help the movement would occur all the same, and this accessory influence of the wind does not suffice to explain the deep cause of movements; but from the seventh and eighth year all movement is conceived as the result of indispensable physical mechanisms. It is not possible for the infantile animism to disappear all at once. The dynamism of this third stage is interesting from the point of view of comparative psychology; for just as the explanations of the previous stages recall certain mental traits of primitive peoples, the dynamism of this stage recalls in a striking manner certain aspects of the physics of Aristotle; but the physical explanation that thus appears for the first time in a general way still remains impregnated with animism.

The Stage of Mechanical Explanation.—During the fourth stage a physical explanation begins to appear. It is surely difficult to locate precisely the beginnings

of this stage. Certain facts indicate the age of seven or eight. Mechanistic causality replaces dynamism in certain fields, about nine or ten. We can give the mean age of ten or eleven as the age of elimination of animistic dynamism, or as the effective beginning of the fourth stage. At this stage the child begins to think like the adult. In short, the notion of weight begins to be absolute, in the manner of high and low with Aristotle, since it appears as a pure relation. (p. 299.)

Piaget³⁸ sums up the development of the child's ideas of causality by distinguishing three main periods.

During the first, all the explanations given are psychological, phenomenistic, finalistic, and magical. During the second stage, the explanations are artificialistic, animistic, and dynamic, and the magical forms tend to diminish. Finally, during a third period, the preceding forms of explanation disappear progressively and give place to the more rational forms. Thus the first two periods are characterized by what we have called pre-causality (in the widest sense of the word), for example, by the confusion of relations of a psychological or biological type in general with relations of a mechanical type; and true causality does not appear till about the age of 7-8. [p. 267.]

Probably many other psychological conceptions might be found at different stages of child development, and, in any case, it becomes clear that the psychological results of many investigations upon adults have resulted in what is true for mature men and women, but not true at all or misleading for children and perhaps youth in the early stages of adolescence. Neither psychology nor philosophy can be sure of universally valid results until they are verified by the genetic method.

With the development of the scientific method in modern times psychology found it had no reliable evidence

for many of its conventional beliefs. It was seen that the only guarantee of truth was first-hand observation, experimentation under controlled conditions, and verification. It has since attempted, however imperfectly and inadequately, to apply this scientific method, and to build up, not only in general but in applied psychology, a body of scientific truth that can be verified. Of this we have now a splendid nucleus of scientific fact.

Twofold Verification.—It has, however, become apparent that in regard to many psychological phenomena what is accepted as scientific truth can not be accepted as universal without qualification where the genetic method has not also been applied. Even in experimental investigation we can merely say of a given result that it is true for our observers at a given stage of psychological development. For those at a lower or a higher stage of development it may not be true. Thus, for much of our psychological knowledge gained by experiment the only adequate test of truth is the rigorous use of scientific procedure with results duly verified in a twofold way, by both the experimental and the genetic method.

Probably many controversies³ and conflicts among psychologists and educators and between different schools of psychology would be solved by a thoroughgoing study from the genetic point of view. Even psychologists and philosophers have attained their present psychological level by a series of stages of genetic development.

The Personal Equation.—And just as Piaget found that only by emancipation from its own ego is a child able to think of things objectively, so only by discounting one's own personal equation can an adult reason

correctly about things. For adolescent or adult alike it is difficult to discern the strength of one's own ego and to make proper correction. In very subtle ways the self may manifest itself. Unless something touches us where we are sensitive we do not feel the self-regarding impulse. We do not mind what is said. If my critic calls me personally an overgrown and a bloated bondholder, I am inclined to laugh. If he calls me a poor university student, I may feel offended. The Englishman is not likely to feel sensitive to criticism of English ways; for he feels quite secure with a wholesome confidence in regard to things English. Survivals of childish attitudes in psychologists themselves must be discounted as well as other elements of the personal equation.

Any attempt at a natural explanation of our present conflict of views in psychology raises the question whether the different theories held may not often be the result of arrest of development in the given psychologists, an arrest due perhaps to several causes, not the least of which may be the fact that the individual thinker, having at a given time in his own development discovered one aspect of truth, has dwelt upon it so long, been so enamored of it, that he has become quite unable to see the possibilities of other truth naturally suggested at higher stages of development. In any case one is liable to be the victim of errors and arrests that can be removed only by a thoroughgoing application of the genetic method.

If this should prove to be true for any large number of philosophers, then the interest expressed by Gamaliel Bradford, in his book *Life and I*,¹ in the theorists rather than the theories, might become general; for it would

be a fascinating study to determine at what stage of development each philosopher's mental growth was arrested, to what degree each became philosophically feeble-minded or moronic, or even when each became unable to learn further truth because he already knew.

Statistical Psychology.—One other control on scientific psychology, especially statistical psychology, is furnished by the observation and study of personality differences, as has been recently shown by Charles Myers³⁰ of London. In the study of any class of individuals in relation to some healthful conditions of function or of disease, a rigorous statistical investigation may give no reliable result, since some individuals of the group may be susceptible to the given condition, some may be indifferent to it, and some affected in a different manner. Unless such individual differences are reckoned with, the statistical result may be misleading or distinctly erroneous.

In the study of anything so elusive as human nature it is usually well, when possible, to employ all available methods, in any case induction, observation, and experiment. For example, with merely statistical studies of quantitative relations one is liable to error. Statistics seem so convincing, and are sometimes so misleading, however, that control by experiment is especially desirable. Raymond Pearl says,³¹

Perhaps in the long run it will appear that the chief usefulness of the statistical technique in the methodology of science is the not unimportant one of suggesting problems and lines of attack upon problems which must finally be solved, if they ever are solved, by the application of the methods of experiment and observation, or a close and integrated correlation of these methods with the statistical to reach a common end. [p. 191.]

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Genetic Sequence in Psychiatry.—It is a fundamental principle of educational hygiene that precocious development is likely to be injurious, and that unduly delayed development means loss of opportunity. Nevertheless, a common error in the schools is that of presenting many subjects prematurely, before a child has the maturity and preparation to profit by them. The psychiatrist finds that the same error is common in parental education, and the disastrous results of this ignoring of the genetic point of view is a common explanation of mental disorder. This has been clearly expressed by Bond² as follows:

You, for instance, began as children a reasonably consistent and well planned schooling for your work. Simple exercises led to harder ones. From kindergarten to college there were graded lessons—not so well graded for you exceptional souls, but still showing order of a sort. And as infants you began another education, a training for loving and living with other people. As you look back, where is the order here? Where the grading? Where the curriculum? Mental patients help us to look back; they tell us that baby problems were brought to them in adolescence; that grown-up lessons came to them when they were babies; that there was no system to it. [p. 525.]

One great merit of Freud and the psychoanalysts should be noted. They have largely adopted the genetic point of view. While some of them have been phantastic in their deductions, the use of the genetic method has enabled them to make a great contribution to mental hygiene. The psychiatrists have wisely adopted to a large extent the same method and by studying the conditions of early childhood in an individual case they are often able to determine the cause of personality

disorders. A grave mistake has been made by many psychologists and educators by failure to use this method. Whenever the teacher meets a puzzling problem, the chances are good that by using the genetic method one may find, not only the trouble, but also the remedy; and where the teacher lacks the training to do this, usually in some clinic or elsewhere a competent mental hygienist or psychiatrist can be found to aid in unraveling the problem. The results of applying this method have shown so many children with personalities twisted and thwarted by unfortunate conditions in early childhood, that a great emphasis is placed on the need of mental hygiene in the home and its common-sense method of prevention.

In the medical profession generally the practical advantage of the genetic point of view is fairly obvious. It is likely to be helpful to the physician, for example, in the use of medicines, serums, and various forms of treatment. Thus a prominent physician reports that he finds the erysipelas vaccine more effective in infants than it is in older children. In regard to many other things the reaction at different periods of growth and development is liable to be different.

Hygiene and Mental Disorder

Mental hygiene is concerned with prevention rather than cure, with the normal rather than the pathological. Since it is aware, however, that some conditions are disintegrating, it recognizes that even health and integration are relative. Thus it does not disregard personality disorders; but its method of treating them is positive and dynamic. This may be made clear by a simple illustration.

An individual with a common personality disorder comes into the clinic. The patient tells the old story—insistent ideas, emotional complexes, unfortunate attitudes of jealousy, suspicion, blame, dislikes and grudges, some of which have become obsessions; also at times most disturbing emotions, worry, fears, anxiety, a sense of insecurity, of inadequacy, and often of inferiority, and a dread of society. All this interferes with work, and pleasure, and digestion, and sleep. The case is representative of many personality disorders, one of thousands.

In such cases two methods of treatment are used—one the direct method of attack and attempt to cure; the other, the indirect method of hygiene. The best psychiatrists to-day use both.

What has been called the method of hygiene should be described in some detail. Hygiene, to be sure, takes the genetic point of view; but for hygiene past stages of development and past disorders have no importance except as an aid to present and future procedure. Many disorders, as we have seen, are psychoses of development. All may be considered as such for purposes of treatment by hygiene.

The hygienist, to be sure, does get the patient's story of his past life and development and is glad if the psychiatrist has cured or can cure any disorders; but he himself takes an indirect method, emphasizes the conditions of growth, especially the worth while task, attention to the present situation, the supreme gift and the validity of the individual's own personality, the ever present aid of the inherent tendency to integration in human personality to all who can yield themselves to it; and, finally the fact that disintegration

always means opportunity for integration at a higher level. Thus by stimulating personality growth, by turning the patient's attention from direct attempts at cure to the doing of one's task of the day, to one's appreciation of one's own unique gift of personality and one's own capacities, it gives a wholesome stimulus and the inspiration and hope of the gospel of development.

The patient is fortunate if he can have both cure and hygienic aid, but in any case, whether cure has been effected in small degree or in large degree, whatever psychoses have been remedied, whatever amnesias of childhood removed, and whatever mnemonic adhesions may remain, this hygienic treatment is helpful.

Creators or Robots

An outstanding problem in education is whether the aim of the schools should be the making of robots or the making of creative personalities. Should the direct objective be to make as many useful things as possible habitual and automatic in the early years of life, or should it be to preserve wholesome personalities and foster creative thinking? Even twenty-five or thirty years ago the aim emphasized by some of the leading educators was to make all the ordinary matters of scholastic training, writing, spelling, the technique of reading and the like automatic as much as possible. In other words, they solved the question of robots or creators by attempting to make both. Often the result was the making of neither.

In higher problems of education, in morals and manners, for example, the antithesis still is used largely between automatism and creation; and the advantages of mastering the alphabets of learning and of making the

essentials of language and social conventions and morals automatic, are obvious. Some persons, perplexed and in despair over solving the riddles of life, would even sell their autonomous wills for the security and perfection of a robot morality.

The modern form of the problem at least stands out clearly in strong colors because of the wonderful creations that the robots now are. Thus President Stratton⁴³ has mentioned some of these in a recent paper, not the least of which is the mathematical machine in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that performs in the fraction of an hour difficult problems of the calculus that it would take a mathematician years to work out himself.

It is well to recognize the fact that in either case, whether the aim be the development of robots, or the development of creative personalities, limitations are inevitable. On the one hand, with even the best of training, the acquisitions of the individual cannot be made absolutely automatic. They cannot, as the older educators often assumed, be transferred to the infallible guidance of the spinal cord, as Lashley's experiments have shown. Even the training of the finest expert in figures, for example, is never, like the best adding machine, infallible.

On the other hand, even with the youth of superior intelligence, the best training, and the ability to integrate the personality at higher and higher levels, creative activity is limited, and only in a small part of the immense field of science and achievement can one do original work.

These facts, of course, suggest obvious changes in individual ideals. The new point of view emphasizes the

fact that imperfection, growth, function, the characteristics of life, and a wholesome personality, are better than completeness, rohot perfection, and sterility.

Thus the genetic point of view suggests that an individual may well strive to be a significant part of a process rather than attain completeness and perfection, and should aim at social coöperation as well as individual development.

III. INTEGRATION AT HIGHER LEVELS

Absolutism

Some persons, even some teachers and social workers, can with difficulty understand the genetic point of view and have a strange tendency to neglect genetic methods. They often belong to that large class who by nature or training have come to desire a philosophy of absolutism, absolute standards, absolute classifications, rigorous distinctions in everything. In genetic development the lower and imperfect stages appear to such persons as definitely bad. They are quite unable to see that development implies imperfection, that growth everywhere comes by stages, and that improvement is a slow and gradual process.

We may resent genetic facts, we may deny them, and we may make a futile struggle and a vain demand for perfection in an imperfect world and for absolute standards in a world of relativity; but teachers and hygienists should at least study the facts of development and accept honestly the truth discovered.

The vigorous advocates of absolute standards in social development delude themselves and foster their preju-

dices by assuming that anything in the animal world is had, that some rigorous distinction between the crude animal and materialistic development and higher social intellectual and spiritual development exists, that the lower stages must be fought instead of developed into something higher, and that the only salvation for humanity is this conflict against the lower and the upholding of this absolute standard. To some this becomes a life and death principle.

Evidence from the genetic facts, however, suggest an intelligent relativity as the only possible hygienic conception.

Integration and Dissociation

Integration naturally stands in contrast with dissociation. The relation of the two, however, requires careful discrimination. When one's personality is integrated at a low level, about the ego, or about a task narrowly conceived, dissociation may have a valuable effect in breaking this. Thus some may speak of dissociation as an asset to personality. It is more in accord with the hygienic conception, however, to say that temporary dissociation gives valuable opportunity for reintegration at a higher level.

The genetic point of view adds clearness to our hygienic conception. First of all, in the early years of life comes the integration about the ego as a focus; later on, the integration of the personality about the individual's own task; still later, the replacement of a narrow individualistic task by a higher task significant for the social group. So too, comes the integration of the different experiences in the individual's own thinking at higher and higher levels. Thus it is the integration at

a higher level rather than the dissociation that improves one's personality.

In earlier chapters (Chapters VIII and X), the analogy of mental metabolism was suggested. Thus integration and disintegration, dissociation, breaking down of mental states, as a condition of reintegration at a higher level suggest a rough analogy with physical metabolism. In the latter the breaking down of tissue, katabolism, is an essential condition of the building up of tissue, anabolism. In mental metabolism, breaking down may be as important a condition for building up as it is in physical metabolism.

Although in psychiatry a more technical and complex illustration may be desirable, in mental hygiene this rough analogy of mental metabolism involving breaking down and building up seems to be quite as helpful and more natural than the assumption of conflict between life and death instincts and a hierarchy of egos.

Levels of Integration

Different kinds of integration occur. We might note the integration correlated with habit and convention, the ease of response to familiar stimuli and the actual need in manifold conditions of such familiar stimuli. This, however, is integration at a low level. It is a defense for the organism and protection, it is absolutely necessary as an economic device in the manifold distracting stimuli of the environment. On this level most of our daily activity is performed, on this level most social conventions and social customs occur. This, however, means relatively cessation of growth and development, automatization, fossilization. A higher form of integration is essential for higher conditions of mental

health. What is meant is obvious upon careful reflection.

The higher integration is that conditioned by a view of the great fundamental aspects of life, social activity, and the selective responses to the great fundamental facts of existence. It means the integration that comes from seeing essentials clearly and subordinate matters and details in right perspective. What is meant is best seen by illustration. Kant's awe and reverence at contemplation of the starry heavens above and the moral law within, are notable correlatives of such perspective, such higher integration. The wonder, amazement and perspective of the scientist who studies the world of electrons on the one hand and the movements and relations of the heavenly bodies on the other hand, who contemplates the vast and complicated but integrated relations of the microscopic world, or who studies the vast quantitative relations in time and space, illustrated by the eons of time that have made possible our vision at night of the stars Mira and Betelgeuse; this perspective of the scientific man is paralleled by that of the layman who, on seeing one of these stars for the first time through the Lick telescope, exclaimed, "I guess it doesn't matter whether Roosevelt is elected or not." This scientific perspective means higher integration, which in turn in the mental field means a higher attention and higher clearness of thought.

The individual who acquires this higher integration has protection from the confusing details and distracting stimuli of modern life and from the trivial worries and anxieties that result from the ordinary absorption in the workaday matters of the daily life of the individual and of the social groups.

The whole philosophy of genetics and what may be called—without offense to those who understand the genetic method—the evolutionary view of life, is that of successive stages of progress at higher and higher levels. The higher optimism involved in this philosophy sees that, as suggested above, even disintegrating and distracting events in the life of the individual or the social group afford the opportunity for higher developments.

Thus White, in a recent paper,¹⁴ has presented a solution of the Freudian doctrine of conflict between the ego, on the one hand, and the libido on the other, by this higher doctrine called emergent evolution. In part he writes as follows:

Conflict of ego and libido strivings is at the very basis of life, of consciousness, as well as unconscious life. As man gains more and more use of this new tool of consciousness, the next most significant emergence for him will be a realization that knowledge of himself is of at least equal importance with a knowledge of his environment.

The theory of emergent evolution, therefore, from the mental hygiene point of view, means that for every new adjustment, every solution of an intrapsychic conflict that raises the level of adjustment, a new world, small or large as the case may be, opens to view, with all the possibilities that implies for a fuller life. [p. 250.]

A similar view of integration at higher levels is that given by Holt, who applies this still more concretely to psychological processes. In substance he has put it as given in the next paragraph.

Genetic Stages

The conception of development as a succession of stages of integration should be held at all periods of

training. From the genetic point of view it appears also that the different behavior functions are of different degrees of integration. Most important of all, in a well developed character they are organized or integrated into higher forms of behavior, and normally at every period of life are integrated to date. In other words, at any moment of life some course of action enlists all the capacities of the organism. As we say, a man has some interest or aim to which he devotes all his powers, and this development of behavior integration illustrates admirably the different levels; and the normal development of these is of profound importance, marking the transition to moral conduct. To quote Holt's words:²⁶ "The more integrated behavior is harmonious and consistent behavior toward a larger and more comprehensive situation, toward a bigger section of the universe. It is lucidity and breadth of purpose." (p. 197.)

The Mental Hygiene Point of View

To-day real education means life, growth, healthful development. The processes involved in active education condition largely the mental health, and the mental health is the essential condition of educational development. While puzzling questions arise, one thing at least is clear—the value of the genetic point of view for mental health.

This conception of the development of the integrated personality is not so technical as it may seem. The stimulus and inspiration of this genetic attitude have been made familiar by Oliver Wendell Holmes in his famous poem addressed to *The Chambered Nautilus*:²⁵

Thanks for the heavenly message brought by thee,
Child of the wandering sea,

Cast from her lap, forlorn!
From thy dead lips, a clearer note is born
Than ever Triton blew from wreathéd horn!

While on mine ear it rings,
Through the deep caves of thought I hear a voice that
sings:—

Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!

Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!

SUMMARY

1. The genetic method is the study of facts in their genesis and wider causal relations.
2. The wholesome personality itself can be understood only from the genetic point of view.
3. Although the old view of human personality as substantially the same at all periods of life has been discarded, nevertheless the tendency to treat children as if they could acquire and should practice adult virtues and ability at an early age, still persists.
4. The genetic method should be used in the study of all functional activities, physical and mental.
5. The genetic method shows the shifting emphasis on the different aims of education at different ages.
6. In each subject of study, from reading and writing to psychology and psychiatry themselves, the application of the genetic method is essential.

7. In the ordinary subjects of school instruction the genetic method emphasizes the training in the large and interesting aspects of a subject before the grammar and technique of the subject is presented.

8. It is an essential method in psychology also; and universally valid truths can be established only by combining this with other essential methods.

9. Even in the professional development of psychologists and hygienists themselves the need of applying this method sometimes receives a grim and grotesque emphasis by cases of arrest in the personal development of some individual psychologists.

10. All practical applications of psychology and mental hygiene should be controlled from the genetic point of view.

11. In the hygiene of personality regard for the genetic sequence of stages of development is imperative.

12. The genetic point of view gives prevision of many neuroses and defects.

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CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

I. THE STUDY OF PERSONALITY

PERSONALITY, as is indicated in ten thousand examples, has become a term for something powerful, creative, mystical in its working, and of manifold connotation, suggesting to-day a modern universal myth. Of personality in woman Barrie is reported to have said: "Without it all other gifts are in vain; with it all other virtues are needless." In man, although perhaps not as obvious, it is equally necessary. In popular conception it means efficiency in all kinds of business, the subtle power of leadership of men, the curative stimulus of good physicians and nurses, and in education it is the one qualification of the teacher that, it is said, everywhere spells success, not only the success of school education and all forms of special education, private and public, but the one vitally significant thing in that highest form of education in ideals and character that dominates men and women everywhere in society. Thus it is said that personality alone gives that vital touch that imparts not the letter but the spirit. Without attempting either to justify or to destroy the conception of this mystical but all potent something, it is helpful to note a few aspects of it.

The Social Aspect of Personality

One aspect of personality already suggested in the early part of this volume should be emphasized, namely,

the social aspect of it. Our description of various attributes of personality, such as strong or weak, pleasing or annoying, unique or commonplace, illustrates the way the individual personality is always regarded in its relation to others.

According to some psychologists, personality can be defined only in terms of the impression one makes upon others. It is the social stimulus value of the individual. Thus, strictly speaking, a person has as many different personalities as there are different individuals impressed by the given person. We talk glibly of the different characteristics of some person who impresses us, and we are apt to describe those who do impress us as pleasing personalities, strong personalities, or the like.

We have, however, no adequate standards, either quantitative or qualitative. A suggestion of a quantitative standard would be the number of individuals who are impressed by any given personality. In an earlier chapter (Chapter VI), one of the illustrations of outstanding personalities cited was G. Stanley Hall. By him people were impressed in many diverse ways, ranging from those who deemed him as a genius, almost as a superman, one who had made contributions of prime importance to psychology, to those who were impressed by him as almost an evil genius, one who had done harm to psychological science. The noteworthy thing, however, that indicated the strength of his personality, was the fact that multitudes were strongly impressed by him in some way; none seemed to be indifferent.

Marbe's View of Personality

The personality of an individual appears perhaps in all functions of the psychophysical organism. This view

is held by several psychologists. Marbe¹² in Germany and his students have clearly presented the view that the personality represents the total psychophysical organism, both physical and mental. The mental personality embraces the total mental capacities and tendencies that are influenced by education and critical experience as well as by physical conditions and processes. Thus he designates every activity of man as a function of his personality—all such characteristics as his manner of behavior, his rhythm of activity, his temperament and tendencies.

This view signifies that all the factors must be effective in any one function. Thus in a person's rhythm the inborn and the acquired characteristics of the mental and physical personality have a reciprocal effect. The personal rhythm appears in any activity demanding acquired motor function predominantly, for example, the habit of one's gait, the grace and beauty acquired in physical movement, and the like. In like manner the mental abilities have an influence in the rhythm of the motor activities.

Marbe finds also a connection between this view of personality and the constitutional types of Kretschmer. The cyclothyme type is likely to be found for the most part in persons with slow personal rhythm, while the schizothyme type shows the tendency to a quick personal rhythm.

Methods of Hygiene

The methods of hygiene are positive rather than negative. Hygiene is not so much concerned with methods of curing bad habits and disordered functions as it is in developing sound and normal habits in the first place,

providing conditions that will favor their healthful growth and development. In a word, the emphasis is on the normal rather than upon the abnormal and upon the preservation of health rather than the cure of disease.

The Interpretation of Behavior.—Hygiene emphasizes the need of studying each child as an individual and of adapting health conditions to individual capacity and needs. It aims to interpret the behavior of individual children and has no cut and dried standards of what behavior is normal. Rather, hygiene takes it for granted that a child brought up in healthful surroundings and not spoiled by parents or others will exhibit normal behavior, and recognizes that its problem is to determine the meaning of such behavior. It recognizes that even normal behavior differs with different personalities and in different situations. In conduct disorders, for example, it aims to determine the cause of the misconduct and often finds that the behavior termed misconduct is really normal for the individual child in the special conditions of its environment. Like the psychiatrist in the study of his patients, the hygienist in the study of the normal individual child finds his problem in the interpretation of behavior.

Hygiene, like psychiatry, is concerned with the results of modern biological, chemical, physiological and psychological researches. Its fundamental objective of an integrated organism is a biological conception, and its significance is emphasized by biological studies.

Hygiene and Psychiatry.—As White has well expressed it, "A human being may be studied from the chemical point of view or the physiological point of view or the psychological point of view, for the purpose of convenience, if you will, but what one finds as a

result of such studies by no means indicates the absence of what would be found if one studied the individual from the other point of view." (p. 101.)

Thus hygiene is especially concerned with the health of children in the earliest years because this, as White has well expressed it, is the golden age for mental hygiene and the time especially favorable for the prevention of personality disorders.

Finally, it should be kept clearly in mind that psychiatry is primarily concerned with the cure of mental disease. White quotes the statement of Freud in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* to the effect that the future will probably attribute greater importance to psychoanalysis as the science of the unconscious than as a therapeutic procedure, but adds that while this may be true of psychoanalysis, "psychiatry will always remain that department of medicine which deals with the nature and treatment of mental disease." In like manner it should be emphasized that mental hygiene deals with the nature and healthful training of normal personalities, whether of the child or the adult.

Our Meager Knowledge of Personality

Recalling our survey of studies of personality one is impressed by several things: first, how little we know about human personality; second, how vastly important is the knowledge we do have; third, how complex are the factors that condition personality; fourth, how wide is the range of individual variation; fifth, how rich is the opportunity for study.

A vast number of studies of physical growth have given a good outline of the main facts concerning the gross development of physical structure. We have also

given the results of many investigations of personality traits by the use of mental tests, and studies of special abilities like the early ones of Garbini in Italy, and a multitude since that time. Apart, however, from the intensive studies of Gesell and a few others, we have few data in regard to the development of the total personality in young children. The studies of Charlotte Bühler and her co-workers, of Marie Zillig, and of Kretschmer, Jaensch, and their followers in Germany, and of Piaget in Switzerland, and of Terman and others, have made most important contributions; but we know little about the relation of intelligence to the total personality, little in regard to the influence of images of different modality, eidetic images, and the like, and little concerning training of personality.

The Value of Personality Study

As already suggested, one of the most important means of increasing the efficiency of parents and teachers and indirectly the health of children is the study of human personality. The objective study of child personality is extremely difficult, but it gives large rewards. The manifold characteristics revealed by it, the beginnings of ability, and often the germs of personality disorders, make their first appearance at an early age. The parent and teacher who can succeed in the observation and study of the children under their special care will discover not only many problems, but valuable concrete suggestions for the healthful development of the boy or girl studied.

The student of personality is impressed again and again with the value of the study itself. The value of such study, as appears from the facts we already do

know, consists, not merely in the definite addition to our knowledge that is always possible in this field and the solution often suggested of practical problems involved, but also in the prevision given for personality disorders and the aid thus furnished for the diagnosis of incipient mental twists. The universal value of such study, as already suggested, is the respect thus acquired for human personality; and this in turn is the one thing more than anything else perhaps that makes life agreeable and work efficient in any social group.

The Interest in Personality

The value of the knowledge of personality that we do have has been made clear by the story of hygiene for the last twenty-five years, and recently in the different occupations and professions, in the lives of a multitude of individuals, in care for the welfare of children in the home and the school, and in the beginnings of the application of its teachings in a few social groups like the school, the army, the team sports, and the like.

The great complexity of the factors that condition the health and development of human personality has been emphasized and is likely to become more and more apparent the more extended one's study of the problem. The wide range of individual variation also has been illustrated everywhere from the nursery to the years of senescence, in all human occupations and professions, in human society everywhere, and in realistic fiction as well as in modern biographies.

The study of human personality represents a universal interest, illustrated in the fact that in everyday life the one thing that commands general attention is some account of individuals of the group with which one

is acquainted. The news demanded from the daily paper is the story of people. The radio makes its appeal by accounts of individual personalities, both of historic persons and of people now living. In fact, in all literature the dominant interest is in individual personalities. Parent, teacher, and all others who have ordinary social functions to perform have to combat egoism and childish survivals in themselves as well as in others. To do this successfully long training is needed; but the study of personality helps, and a few simple tests may aid.

Tests of Egoism

To one who seriously studies personality the outstanding result is likely to be the amazing egoism that persists in most persons.

We have seen that the child is egocentric for the first six or seven years of life, that his autistic thinking and action are gradually checked by the influence of the social groups of which he is a member, but that nevertheless to a large extent child egoism persists into adolescence, and the great remedy for this begins with self-discovery at the adolescent period. The ideal of mental hygiene, however, is not the impossible aim of entire elimination of egoism, but rather a properly balanced self-regard, which is likely to come naturally with the devotion of the individual to some special task of his own and with normal social relations.

To determine whether one's own ego complex is overdeveloped or merely a fitting self-regard is difficult. Nevertheless a few simple tests may help the individual who has the intelligence and the courage to attempt a simple bit of self-analysis.

To probe your own personality try the following:

1. If an accident occurs, an automobile collision or the like, what first of all do you do? As soon as the accident comes, do you forthwith blame some one or something—your chauffeur, the driver of the other car, the bad roads, uncut bushes, the weather, or whatever it may be? Or on the other hand, do you utilize the moments first of all to see if any one is hurt, to avoid the further accident that is so apt to follow on the heels of the first, and to make temporary repairs as quickly as possible?

2. For each individual a further test of this point would be instructive. For example, see whether in any social group, where you are familiar with the individuals, you can actually for the space of two hours converse freely without criticizing, correcting, or blaming any one. If so, you are a promising candidate for the utopia of workers who perform their tasks as best they can and correct their mistakes without talking about them.

3. In cases where you, along with your acquaintances, have subscribed money to some charitable cause, on thinking over the usual motives for making such subscriptions, do you find yourself thinking more of the poverty you have in part relieved or of the conventionally fitting amount of your gift, or of the increment from this gift to your own self-satisfaction?

4. When you consider your own so-called altruistic acts and those done by others you know who have done the same, do you find that some humble Gunga Din is a better man than yourself?

5. When you and your neighbor have had some controversy in which both were at fault, do you find that you regret more your own fault or that of your neighbor?

6. For another test, fitting for a large number of individuals, this might be taken. You have had a friend who for many years has continuously done favors to you, but sometimes when his judgment was obscured, or perhaps when it was too truthful, he has spoken unkindly about you. In this case do you remember more frequently his continued acts of kindness or his occasional unkind remarks; and which touches you more keenly?

7. When you are one of a coöperative social group, a committee for example, and one member has brought in a report that you recognize as valuable but having some minor defects, do you first of all note its essential value for the purpose in hand, or do you first notice and criticize the minor defects?

Interest and Prevision.—The great value of such study for the teacher is that it develops an interest in human personality, and gives prevision for the needs of both the normal and the abnormal.

Special Discoveries

In each normal child three things, for example, are likely to be discovered sooner or later in the study of personality:

1. Some weak spot, inherited perhaps, more likely due to the solicitous hand of a fond parent who at some time, like the fabled mother of Achilles, unwisely protected this particular part of the child—a weakness that may not appear perhaps for years, and then only under some special strain.

2. Some mental "blind spot," some compartment of the mind, or complex of associations if one prefers, where prejudice, error, and folly prevail, usually some habit of emotional reaction on which the light of rea-

son cannot shine; this too, probably acquired through some defect of training.

3. Some special gift, very small perhaps, but the germ at least of something unique and individual—a precious mark of the personality. If one have opportunity it is well to make a long continued study of one child. This after years may yield both surprises and disappointments. It is well known that with growth and training youth often show surprising developments.

The Teacher's Study

The ordinary busy teacher who has prevision for what is significant and who is able to record accurately what is observed can make such study with excellent results. Prevision is necessary; otherwise one fails to see significant facts. This prevision needed comes largely from the study of mental hygiene, and it is enhanced by practice in the study of children.

Those teachers who have sufficient time to make extended studies, should, of course, consult the extensive recent literature on the subject. For the majority of teachers, however, who have little time for observation and study, besides the complexity of the subject that they are likely to find out themselves, one thing should be emphasized, namely, the fact that all a child's behavior and experience has a relation to the total personality. The words of Stern help to explain this:¹⁷

The individual is "stratified." This means that his separate moments have different depths, that they are more or less focal, persistent, immediately essential. . . . The stratification itself is the distinguishing characteristic of the personality; the superficial is just as necessary a part of the total structure as is the

profound. The chronic and the unchanging belong to its vital stream just as do the acute and the changing; that which is inextricably embedded in the total is as much a part of the multiplex unity as that which is less intimately connected with it but never entirely separated from it. [p. 325.]

Between the two poles of pure play and the pure serious lie many modes of behavior that are fusions of the playful and the serious—what Stern calls *Ernstspiel*.

When a child comes to school it has already had a long training in learned reactions, some of them normal, some abnormal. Some personality disorders it is too late to prevent. Also many disintegrating conditions cannot be remedied. The innocent cannot always be protected. Some maladjustments cannot be readjusted. With the best intentions in the world hygienists often may not know what to do. And yet nowhere perhaps is the aid of hygiene greater than here, and the study of individual personality is helpful.

The teachers, like the artists, as already suggested, have a unique opportunity to find their wages in their work. They can study personality in the making. The child's personality represents the latest and highest biological structure in evolution. The opportunity to study this not only affords priceless aid in the teacher's own personal and professional development, but greatly exalts the teaching profession. History shows that the teacher's calling has always been a hard one. In spite, however, of its hardships and poverty and usually low esteem, something of this insight of its transcendent function in aiding the highest form of human development has been the teacher's inspiration and support.

II. THE WIDER SCOPE OF MENTAL HYGIENE

The Influence of Mental Hygiene

Any one familiar with recent literature knows how fundamental and widely significant the influence of mental hygiene is to-day, and how the essential aim, the development of a wholesome personality, is now deemed vital in all the professions and occupations that have to do with human individuals and human society.

In education the importance of mental hygiene has long been appreciated, and now is extending to all grades of scholastic institutions from the nursery and the kindergarten to the college and the university. In other professions the need and value of mental hygiene is beginning to be widely recognized. In the medical profession this is especially true. Strecker,¹⁸ of the Jefferson Medical College, estimates that fully fifty per cent of the problems of the acute stages of illness and seventy-five per cent of the difficulties of convalescence "have their primary origin, not in the body, but in the mind of the patient." (p. 347.)

In the calling of the clergy a significant beginning has also been made in the use of mental hygiene. The method of Dr. Worcester of Boston, putting the emphasis on the mental aspects of disease in its relation to church work, is familiar in the well-known Emmanuel movement; and other clergymen, notably Dr. Fosdick and Dr. Holmes in New York have recognized the value of mental health in relation to religion, and conferences and clinics have been opened by clergymen in different places. Representative of these is the Life Adjustment

Clinic recently begun at Mt. Pleasant Church in Washington and reported by the pastor, Mr. Lovell.¹⁰

Mental Hygiene and Jurisprudence

Especially noteworthy is the influence of mental hygiene and the modern point of view in regard to personality in the field of jurisprudence. The new views of the fundamental character of the wholesome personality have profoundly modified the legal principles underlying penal codes and the theory and practice of the legal profession in relation to crime. Glück suggests the following as a basic criterion: "The legal and institutional provisions for the protection of society must be based not so much upon the gravity of the particular act for which an offender happens to be tried as upon his personality." (p. 18.) The great question in dealing with an individual criminal is the degree of dangerousness of his personality.

In 1926 a committee of the National Crime Commission¹⁴ attempted to determine the extent to which psychiatry is employed in the courts of criminal jurisdiction in the United States. A questionnaire inquiring in regard to the employment of psychologists and psychiatrists was sent to the different courts, and the opinion of judges in regard to the value of ascertaining the mental, nervous, and physical condition of persons accused or convicted of crime was requested.

Of 1,168 courts that replied, 110 or 9.4 per cent, reported that they were served regularly by a psychiatrist; these courts were distributed through 31 states and the District of Columbia; and 70 courts, or 6 per cent, representing 27 states and the District of Columbia, utilized the services of psychologists. (p. 836.)

Many replies, to be sure, indicated distrust of such service; not a few seemed to have had the attitude expressed by one judge who replied: "I shall pray for horse sense rather than psychiatry"; and some one expressed the opinion that it was mostly bunk and nonsense. Such replies are apt to indicate either misunderstanding or prejudice. It should be remembered, however, that it is the function neither of mental hygiene nor of psychiatry to mete out punishment to law breakers. But the aid of mental hygiene and psychiatry in protecting society from the criminal is vastly important.

Those who have to deal with the defective, delinquent, and incompetent are coming to see that personality disorders are the great cause of sickness, poverty, and unhappiness. Thus Dr. Davies, Assistant Secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, says:¹

"The personality maladjustments with which mental hygiene is concerned have caused more social problems and more serious social problems than all human ills put together." (p. 246.) It is recognized now that although personality may be the supreme gift of nature to a child, we do not have to take it as we find it. Mental hygiene and progressive education alike seem to have shown that it can be improved and made able to adjust to varied social conditions.

The Task in Industry

A fitting task so essential for a child's health is no less important for the adult workman in whatever form of business or industry. One or two illustrations will make this clear. Recent studies by Anderson,² Elkind,³ and others, have furnished instructive examples.

In Macy's great department store in New York City

a mental hygiene unit has been formed to deal with practical personality problems that occur. These are studied from four points of view: a physical examination, mental examination, social history, and job behavior; and on the basis of the insight gained by these inquiries the attempt is made to aid individuals in their industrial adjustment. Some of the cases of maladjustment are of individuals with personality disorders, some are cases where there is a lack of adjustment between the individual's abilities and the special task allotted to the person. The following is an example of the latter class reported by Anderson:¹

A woman of nineteen, a cashier in the store, was referred to the psychiatrist by the superintendent because of many errors made in giving change. The result of examination showed physical undernourishment and underweight, intelligence below normal; she was slow in speed tests, lacking in dexterity, fair in learning ability, poor in accuracy tests, but with an attractive personality enhanced by neatness and good clothes. Her mother was dead, her father married a second time, the home situation unhappy. She was a failure as cashier, but her pleasant personality indicated she would succeed in sales work.

Consequently, she was transferred to the house-furnishings department, where several months later the department head expressed himself as pleased with the new clerk. The psychiatrist has also advised her as to her home and social life, and has worked out a program whereby her leisure hours bring her a greater degree of happiness. Under the medical direction of the psychiatrist, her health has greatly improved. She has taken a special interest in the stock of her department, and is now being tried out for head of stock, a promotion for which

there is considerable competition. She is showing trends of alertness, aggressiveness, and self-confidence that increase her effectiveness as a sales person. [p. 246.]

Thus to-day mental hygiene has a great influence in education and industry, and in all forms of business and professional life. Its potential influence on the individual and the social group is unlimited.

Not only have studies of healthful conditions in the different industries been made and personality tests of fitness for the different vocations devised and used, but in the practical work of adjusting the tasks of the workman to individual capacity notable beginnings have already been made. Even in the great sports, such as football, baseball, and golf, the value of the teachings of mental hygiene and the importance of wholesome personality traits have been shown. No less an authority than Hyslop of London calls attention to the mental stances, in golf—timing, temper, and temperament; and he points out that losing one's temper is likely to mean losing a stroke.

Wherever human beings have tasks to perform, on the farm, in the workshop, in factories or stores or schools, in the office or counting room, and where social activities and social service are attended to, and even in legislative halls and the study of great problems everywhere, whether in industry or statecraft, mental hygiene offers its aid and encouragement.

Such are a few illustrations from thousands available from industry, business, the different professions, and the individual lives of students, private workers, and public servants.

III. HYGIENE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Considered from an objective point of view, the lot of the human individual from birth to death seems a strange one. A weak creature, limited in endurance and active ability in every direction, but often with boundless imagination and ambition, and driven by tremendous forces, he does not understand the game of life, but is interested and eager to enter it. His environment is complex and confusing. Most perplexing of all are frequently the people about him. Many of these seem to know all about life, just what the rules of the game should be, and are ready to tell all about it. Worst of all, usually they are displeased if he does not play as they tell him and does not act just as people about him do.

Early in life the child begins education in schools that are provided to train him how to behave and how to think. During early life up to adolescence and, for many, throughout this period, the individual remains in such schools and learns much about the way other people think and their varied activities; but the chief outcome of it all, if the training is successful, is that he acquires an intelligent ignorance.

Thus the individual who profits by education learns to think carefully, and to act prudently; but nevertheless he finds himself often forced to decide grave problems by a mere guess. He may be fortunate enough to learn to control his emotions, to ignore them, and to do his tasks without regard to them; he finds, however, that others do not do this, but often are impelled by their feelings and justify their actions in a convincing manner that he cannot attain. He is fortunate withal

if he can retain his sense of humor and see the amusing aspects of the grim jests of life and human society.

Personality as the Great Gift

The individual, as we have seen, may at adolescence discover his own personality. This he finds, in the first place, is conditioned by an environment over which he himself had no control—by race, family, and the local surroundings. His individual personality, however, is the great gift of nature and the one possession to which nothing else can compare. Thus the youth who can preserve himself, avoid the pitfalls that beset him and develop a wholesome personality, will find that, whatever his lot, life is worth living.

This Stoic, Christian, and Romantic view of personality is stated in modern scientific terms by Smuts in his study of *Holism and Evolution*.¹⁶ From his point of view he looks upon evolution as creative at every stage of its advance. Of this in relation to personality he says:

"As the process advances this creativeness increases and intensifies, until in the origin of the highest known structures, that is to say in human personalities, the creativeness rises to a maximum in relation to the inherited materials used in the new structures." (p. 275.)

The wholesome personality is characterized by a sense of reality, of validity, and of security. This is comparable to the euphoria that accompanies a condition of complete physical health. An individual who lacks this sense of personality health has a sense of unreality, of insecurity, and apprehension that may at times be alarming.

Self-Respect

The prime importance of respect for the individual child by parents and teachers is emphasized everywhere by mental hygiene. It is still more important for the child to respect his own personality. A due self-respect is an essential of health. The unique possession of individual personality has been emphasized. This is the ground for respect by parents and teachers and play-mates. It is also the basis for self-respect. This is by no means conceit. It is rather a protection against it. Conceit comes by an undue regard for self in comparison with others; but self-respect is the natural genetic stage preparatory to loyalty and regard for others. This was long ago expressed by Shakespeare: "To thine own self be true, and it must follow as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man." (Hamlet, Act I, Sc. 3, line 78.) The significance of the genetic sequence suggested in this familiar quotation was not fully seen until recent scientific studies showed the egocentric character of the first period of the child's life.

The sense of possession, of security and confidence that are the basis of self-respect are possible to every normal child. If a child does not naturally develop this attitude, probably something is wrong in the child's social environment.

The Health Value of Self-Respect.—With hygiene's broad conception of personality combining the view of those who define it as the totality of an individual's reaction tendencies and the view of those who define it as an individual's social stimulus value, personality appears as something worth while in itself, the supreme possession of the individual.

The development of self-respect is the great preventive of a sense of inferiority and is apparently especially needed by two classes of pupils: first of all, of course, those who by defect or unfortunate condition continually fail in their work; and second, by many children of superior ability. The latter usually succeed in their school work, although some of them fail. In discipline and adaptation to school and home conditions, however, they not infrequently are thwarted and upset and unable to adjust normally. Just as superior children usually succeed better than others in school work, so, as a rule, they seem to be more easily disciplined than children generally. Mrs. Hollingworth⁸ finds, however, that certain problems of discipline grow out of their intelligence. It is often hard to train them to control themselves. In discussion it is hard for them to keep silent. The tendency is for many to speak at once, each striving to outspcak the others. This naturally creates confusion unless discipline can be enforced. "To listen quietly and respectfully to others, to speak according to some order and procedure, and to restrain disappointment at failure to be heard at all, these habits seem especially difficult for gifted children to form." (p. 11.)

If this thwarting and repression happens to occur both in the home and the school, some personality disorder, even a sense of inferiority, may develop. Without proper treatment this may be more serious in them than in ordinary children.

Conditions Favorable to Personality

Although personality is the gift of nature to the individual—and to what extent the wholesome personality

can be produced by training is not known—we can at least make conditions as favorable as possible for its development and take special pains to prevent personality disorders.

Parents and teachers are the ones who especially have the opportunity to make conditions favorable for the development of personality. The splendid and continuous effort to do this in the best homes and in the schools has been noted, and also some of the unfavorable conditions that in some degree inevitably occur.

Still more important than respect by others as a condition of self-respect, as shown by many examples throughout this book, is the child's successful doing of his own task.

This doctrine of hygiene is emphasized by psychiatrists. Meyer quotes Janet, who expresses the convictions from his study of psychiatry that "complete action is the most difficult and highest function," and he adds that completed action is the first essential for rest, and describes the "development of dementia præcox as being essentially a deterioration of the instincts of action."

The fact has been especially emphasized that the greatest thing a teacher can do for a pupil is to give the opportunity for a worth while task and for successful accomplishment of it. This seems so simple and banal that the ordinary teacher desires to do much more, and precisely here comes the danger.

Whether instinctive or acquired, it seems to be an imperative impulse for parents and teachers to help the child in whatever is attempted, and this helpfulness is continually overdone. It is the impulse of the back seat driver, and often appears in suggestion or direction

in regard to every trivial detail and not infrequently actually doing of the task by the teacher or parent.

We find this strange situation in education; on the one hand, the demand for the development of individuality and the exaltation of personality as a prime condition of success everywhere; on the other hand, methods and conventions that check and inhibit the growth of personality and make for the standardizing of knowledge, behavior, and the occupations of industry and professional service alike.

Psychiatry and mental hygiene tell us that a normal personality development is essential to mental health; but in both the home and the schools many things injurious to its normal development often prevail: failure, haste, blame, robbery of the child's tasks, misunderstanding, ignoring of the child's personality, and sarcasm—really a blow below the belt. In the old days these would have been called the seven deadly sins of the home and the school. Parents and teachers could prevent these injurious conditions if they had a clear knowledge of the simple teachings of mental hygiene.

The longer one studies the subject of education and the more one considers the practical needs of teachers, the more one feels that the one subject more helpful to them than any other in the professional field is mental hygiene, not only for the contribution it makes to the teacher's own health, but also for the vast benefit its teachings give for the health of children. The advantages of mental hygiene for the teacher can hardly be emphasized too strongly.

IV. THE WIDE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY

As has been already suggested, the conceptions of science in regard to human personality are merely a more definite statement of the views of men and women in everyday life. The wholesome personality, as described by the latter, is a description made vivid and pregnant by the long history of men and women everywhere. As regards the individual, it is of one who is upstanding, straightforward, industrious, attentive, well-balanced, honest, sincere, "all there"; and in relation to the social group, of one who is open-minded, with the spirit of the learner, independent but neighborly and coöperative, ready to sacrifice individual interest for the welfare of the group, trustworthy and always with the supreme characteristic of integrity.

The scientific conception is of a personality that is integrated, a whole that responds as a unit to the varied situations of life, physical and social, an organism that functions in a total integrated pattern of behavior, the parts of which are individuated under the dominance of the total pattern, and withal a developing personality.

The Healthful Social Group.—The wholesome rôle of integration in the social group has also been stressed. The cynic, of course, may say that the only possible integration of a social group with a serious task is by "The Law of the Jungle." But examples of integration in democratic groups large and small are many, and the possibility of development of such groups is unlimited. The vast opportunity afforded by the schools for giving actual training in really democratic groups has been pointed out.

The view that the social group should be integrated, and that also the members of the group should be distinct individuals, need not disturb us by its apparent contradiction; for in biological development integration and individuation are correlative, as shown by Coghill,³ Herrick,⁷ and Ogden.¹⁴ The social significance of this has been well expressed by the last mentioned writer, and he describes also the relativity of integration which has been noted in an earlier chapter. Thus he writes:

Whatever is integrated constitutes a "whole," the integers, units, or "elements" of which are discoverable only in terms of aspects, attributes, or variable phases of the whole. In other words, integration is articulateness or "wholeness," as distinct from inarticulateness or diffusion. In a different and more restricted context the members of larger "wholes" may articulate and form smaller "wholes" by virtue of their subordinate aspects or members. But whether "large" or "small," wholes are of varying articulateness; some are "good" wholes, stable and highly articulate, while others are less good, less stable, less articulate. [p. 91.]

The general principle is integration according to the purposive task of the group and individuation with a maximum of freedom under the general purpose and pattern of the group.

Fundamental Tendencies

Three deep-seated biological tendencies or impulses demand attention in education and hygiene: first, growth in its broadest sense, including maturation; second, learning in the broad sense; third, integration. This book has dealt largely with the last of these and with the basic impulse to activity. We know little about the deeper significance of any one of these. The three tenden-

as a creative power. Man is, indeed, a mechanism, but he is a mechanism which, within his limitations of life, sensitivity and growth, is creating and operating himself." (p. 110.)

Integration.—On the other hand, integration largely conditions both growth and learning. The coördinating function of the nervous system was chosen for special illustration of integration; but, as pointed out, this function is older than the nervous system. The embryo itself is integrated before the nervous system is developed; and in behavior development everywhere the whole dominates the parts. The close connection of learning and integration is beautifully illustrated by Cogbill's study of Amblystoma. Of its development, he says:³ "Behaviour develops from the beginning through the progressive expansion of a perfectly integrated total pattern and the individuation within it of partial patterns which acquire various degrees of discreteness." (p. 38.)

Simple as the conception of integration is theoretically, in the actual development of the integrated personality it is very complex. It is at once as simple and as complex as the conception of growth. This is shown in our illustration of the integration of the nervous system. The prime characteristic of an organism is solidarity of all its parts. In the higher animals and man the greatest manifestation of this is the functional integration and interdependence of the nervous system. As Piéron says:¹⁶

"The behavior of the animal is not the function of an isolated stimulation of some cortical receptor-neuron, but of a whole series of simultaneous and immediately preceding stimulations, the function being determined by the integration of all of its past experience." (p. 51.)

Noteworthy illustration of this tendency to integration

is furnished also by the functioning of the system of endocrine glands. The health of the individual organism, of the whole personality, is conditioned by the proper balance in the function of these different glands. It is significant also that within certain limits they function vicariously. Like the members of a well ordered household, when one is defective and unequal to its task, its work may be largely taken up by another gland.

In part what has been said is common to the *Gestalt* psychology. This emphasizes wholeness as a dominant conception. Perception is primarily of wholes, and behavior is according to total patterns. The word *Gestalt*, as Koehler⁹ defines it, not only means form or shape, but a concrete entity having form, "any segregated whole." (p. 192.)

This is in harmony apparently also with the general point of view of a number of recent scientific writers—Whitehead²⁴ and others. A helpful account of these is given by Ogden¹⁴ in *Psychology and Education*. (p. 110.)

To-day one can hardly understand either hygiene or educational psychology without a clear conception of the function of integrated wholes in life and human activity.

Of the mental processes we have dwelt upon the manifestation of integration in concentrated attention in purposive activity. This may remain in spite of illness and serious injury. On the other hand, although adequate scientific studies are lacking, it seems probable that the ability to integrate at higher levels is largely the result of maturation. Integration at higher levels is conditioned also in part by learning which gives a knowledge of new facts, a broader outlook, and a view of wider relations.

Emergent Evolution.—The conception of development as a series of integrations at higher and higher levels that

tive attitude, the ability to look at facts, including one's own self, objectively; this is the highest form of the learning attitude. It is the scientific attitude.

The fourth fundamental attitude is that of persistence. It means ability to do the same thing over and over again, the recognition of the vital importance of repetition, and the ability to hold on, never to let go, whether in physical or mental activity.

The fifth fundamental conception is that of the normal democratic group as one where each member has freedom for initiative and where the special abilities of the different members are integrated by the leader for a common purpose; therefore a group where individual differences are not accentuated and the occasion of discord, but contribute to the common purpose in the co-operative activity.

The sixth fundamental conception is the genetic point of view, which emphasizes development in successive stages. In normal development the disintegrating stimuli that threaten the initial integration of the young child are assimilated and integration at a higher level attained. In later life many disintegrating stimuli and distracting situations give the opportunity for such higher integration.

Those who have not studied the conception of integration can hardly realize its wide practical significance, not only in education and hygiene, but in social problems and in the professions. Especially in the work of the teacher, physician, and social worker, it is largely the keynote to general method and concrete procedure. In medicine even the progressive specialist to-day studies the eye or ear or tooth or gland or special function as a coördinated part of the whole integrated organism.

In psychoanalysis, for example, little attention is given to special symptoms, but the patient's personality as a whole is studied.

For the individual, in other words, it all condenses into six interrelated aims: integration of the personality; significant tasks, individual and social; the scientific attitude, the highest form of the learning attitude; persistence, the ability to endure, to repeat one's efforts again and again; the normal democratic group, social interests, coöperation, and the readiness to sacrifice personal interest for the sake of the group; the genetic point of view with integration of conflicts at higher levels.

In regard to education the message of hygiene is simple, definite, and emphatic. The supreme aim of education is the preservation and development of a wholesome personality in every child. The hygienic qualifications of parents are a wholesome personality, a knowledge and practice of the simple essentials of child hygiene, an intelligent ignorance, and the ability, when one does not know what should be done, to let children alone. The qualifications of teachers are a wholesome personality in themselves, including physical and mental health, a working knowledge and professional practice of somatic and mental hygiene, a permanent interest in children, and respect for the personality of each pupil.

However complex necessary hygienic conditions may be, however diverse in regard to some points the opinions of hygienists themselves, and however technical their language, the ideal for all may be put in the simple language of everyday life. Thus it is possible for each, according to their several abilities and conditions,

to work attentatively, to think honestly, and to live nobly.

Mental hygiene has a new method but it is an old doctrine. The emphasis of this book on the wholesome integrated personality⁷ merely summarizes everyday common sense and the teaching of wise men from Jesus to Stanley Hall. It is the *Integer Vitæ* of the poet Horace, the mental serenity of Marcus Aurelius, man's highest fortune as gauged by the poet Goethe, the untouched, unsullied character of men and women of integrity everywhere, the morale of the good soldier, the concentrated activity of the honest workman. It is represented at a low level by the absorbed attention of the unspoiled child performing his own little task, and shown at a high level by the scientist and the artist doing some great work for its own sake.

This integration, so old in biological history, so essential in human activity, is one of the most fundamental and deep-seated characteristics of the human organism. From birth to age it means coördination, unity and health. In the individual personality it means wholeness and wholesomeness.

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SPECIAL LIST

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INDEX

Abbott, Lyman, 278
 Abraham, 486
 Absolutism, 354, 365; and relativity, 358-362; child's, 385 f., 394, 404; genetic method, 645
 Accidents, psychology of, 342
 Accuracy, 263
 Ach, N., 91
 Achilles, 665
 Acland, Henry, 455
 Action, direct, 318; fear, 309 f.
 Activity, coöordinated, 318
 Adjustment, 435; training in, 200 f.
 Adler, Alfred, 145, 147, 170, 236, 287, 479, 593, 690
 Adolescence, 50, 62, 145 f., 149, 229, 280, 297, 566; annoying changes at, 540 f.; characteristics of, 528-535; conceit of, 533; conduct disorders, 566; conflicts, 343, 346-349, 576; conflict with parents in, 577; defense mechanisms of, 565; and discovery of error, 568, 674; divorced parents and, 337; doubt in, 364, 569 f., egoism during, 566; fear during, 237, 294, 555; hygiene of, 609; insecurity, 329; jealousy, 372; latent potentialities, 564; mental inferiority, 562; new birth at, 527 f.; new powers of, 564; omniscience in, 44, 530, 533; personality of, 527-608; personality disorders of, 546; physical limitations of, 562; problems of, 463, 474; psychoses

of development in, 621; reading for, 600; self-control in, 566 f.; self-discovery in, 43-45, 560-604; self-study of, 567, 623; sensitiveness of, 552; training of, 535-558; understanding of, 546, 549, 552 f.
 Age, physiological and psychological, 167
 Aikins, H. A., 146, 170, 479
 Akeley, D. J., 316, 329
 Alexander, F., 690
 Alibis, mental, 35, 276, 409
 Allen, F. H., 690
 Allport, F. H., 80, 561, 595, 605
 Allport, G. W., 23, 26, 80, 151, 159, 170, 694
 Altruism, 566
 Alvarez, W. C., 26
 Ambivert type, 142
 Amiel, H. F., 367
 Amsden, G. S., 77 f., 80
 Amundsen, Roald E. G., 8
 Andersoo, V. V., 670 f., 688
 Anger, 88, 205 f., 309, 615
 Anxiety, 642; and mental health, 312; and personality, 323
 Appel, K. E., 608
 Aristocratic fallacy, 494
 Aristotle, 340, 635 f.
 Arithmetic, genetic method, 625; speed in, 264
 Armstrong, W. J., 329, 433, 602, 605
 Associated ideas, 16
 Association mass, 28
 Association-reaction time, of child, 265, 286

- Asthenic type, 124 f., 129 f., 134 f., 137 f., 165 f.; among ants, 141
 Attention, 53, 177; abnormal, 266; concentrated, 182 f.; child's, 192; extreme, 255
 Attitudes, affective, 101; childish, 304, 335, 369; "chip-on-the-shoulder," 492; conflicting, 276; critical, 148; experimental, 475; helpful, 210; injurious emotional, 369; intellectual, 385; interests, 63; learning, 63, 65, 148, 217, 238 f., 245; mental, 65; objective, 149, 213, 221-246, 324 f., 353, 377, 559, 595, 685; of blame, 231; of children, 232 f.; of parents, 104-106; of reformer, 231; of the wise, 224; party, 98 f.; professional, 231; pseudo-objective, 230 f.; religious, 66; scientific, 65, 148, 238 f., 245, 353, 477, 595; subjective, 222 f., 230, 242; suspicious, 388 f.; teachers', 338 f.; unconscious, 84-120; work, 86; wholesome, 383
 Aurelius, Marcus, 688
 Autistic thinking, 31, 40, 468, 663
 Automobile psychoses, 509; and patriotism, 502-514
 Aveling, F., 329
 Babcock, H., 287
 Bacon, Roger, 92
 Baldwin, B. T., 690
 Balzac, Honoré de, 198
 Barcroft, J., 4, 26
 Barker, L. F., 22, 26, 690
 Barrie, James M., 656
 Bausch, W., 170, 690
 Beck, R., 187, 217
 Behavior, 37, 659; patterns, 49, 465 f., 613; self-centered, 564; tests, 500
 Bekhterev, V. M., 121 f., 170, 549, 605
 Belief and practice, 579; ideals, 62
 Bergemann, W., 151
 Bergemann-Könitzer, M., 50
 Berger, T., 691
 Bergson, Henri Louis, 186
 Berkeley, G., 570
 Berne, E. V. C., 50
 Bernheim, H., 64, 80
 Betz, W., 652
 Beyrl, F., 691
 Bias for the old, 96
 Bibesco, Martha, 164, 170, 320, 329
 Biedl, A., 21, 26
 Björnson, B., 90
 Blake, William, 126
 Blame, 42, 231, 324, 328, 335, 339, 370, 372 f., 375, 380, 404, 477, 565, 642, 678; fear of, 301, 311; substitute for, 378; teachers', 421
 Blanchard, P., 368, 605
 Blanton, S., 466, 694
 Blatz, W. E., 26, 37, 51, 458, 479
 Blériot, Louis, 8
 Blculer, E., 119, 126
 Blonsky, P. P., 438-441, 479
 Bluff academic, 111
 Boas, Franz, 694
 Bond, E. D., 640, 652
 Bonte, T., 150, 153, 170
 Boorman, R. W., 433
 Borah, W. E., 28
 Boring, E. G., 245, 652, 694
 Bose, J. C., 196, 217
 Bossuet, J. B., 469
 Bott, H., 26, 37, 51, 458, 479
 Bowers, A. M., 119, 654
 Boys, study of, 135
 Bradford, Gamaliel, 208, 638, 652

- Bradford, M. D., 264 f., 287
 Brain, studies, 2, 16
 Braun, F., 691
 Braun, L., 299, 330
 Brickner, R., 433
 Bridges, K. M. B., 56, 81, 614 f., 652
 Briggs, Le Baron, R., 541
 Briggs, V. L., 302, 330, 509, 514
 Bronner, A. F., 119, 654
 Brooks, F. D., 594, 605
 Brooks, Phillips, 66, 469 f.
 Brown, F. W., 330
 Brown, William, 81, 691
 Bühler, Charlotte, 51, 186, 605, 612, 614, 616, 651, 661
 Bühler, Karl, 617 f., 653
 Bunyan, John, 319
 Burbank, Luther, 196-198, 201, 217, 580, 605
 Burgess, E. W., 524
 Burks, B. S., 605
 Burnham, William H., 217, 145, 368, 405, 433, 479, 524, 605, 653
 Burnitt, B. B., 524
 Burroughs, John, 201, 383
 Busemann, A., 5, 19, 16
 Butler, Samuel, 311, 330, 413, 433, 580, 605
 Byrd, Richard E., 189, 436, 488

 Caine, Hall, 337 f.
 Calkins, Mary W., 51
 Campbell, C. Macfie, 287, 683
 Canavao, M. M., 117
 Cannon, Walter B., 257 f., 288, 405
 Capella, 111
 Carlyle, Thomas, 304
 Carmichael, Leonard, 14, 16, 162, 170, 183, 120
 Cause, child's idea of, 386, 619-631; dynamism explanation, 635; mechanical explanation, 635 f.; stages, 633
 Chamberlain, A. F., 433, 653
 Change, desire for, 534
 Character and personality, 121; differences, 130 f.; moral, 58
 Chase, Harry W., 119
 Chase, S., 217
 Chesterton, G. K., 305
 Child, C. M., 119
 Child, 31 f., 70 f., 137, 201, 274, 284, 303, 305, 376, 447, 630; and adults, 34; as reporter, 71; association-reaction time, 265, 286; confessional, 461; concentration, 382; confidence, 490; dependence on parents, 274 f.; development, 612 f.; eidetic imagery of, 150-162; fear, 237, 295, 321 f.; hygiene of, 609; integration, 177, 181 f., 192 f., 282; jealousy, 370 f.; obedience, 460; objective attitude of, 232 f.; of divorced parents, 337; personality of, 135, 426, 464; phantasy of, 37, 133 f., 424; protection, 445; robbing of, 272, 286; studies of, 142 f., 438, 614; suggestibility, 64; superior, 676; task of, 181, 193 f., 411; tests, 11; thinking, 31; types, 118-130, 136 f., 439 f.
 Childhood, early, 30-39, 40, 621, 634 f.; later, 39-41, 50, 623, 635; second, 281
 Church, Richard, 546
 Claparède, E., 55, 81, 119, 202, 400, 405
 Climate, 201
 Codona, A., 351 f., 363
 Coc, C. F., 155, 233
 Coc, G. A., 368
 Coghill, G. E., 186, 217, 650-652, 653

- Comenius, J. A., 49, 239, 411, 486
 Common sense, 73
 Compensation, 44, 50, 128, 146, 276, 424 f., 538
 Competition, 414
 Complexes, mental, 275; suspicion, 389
 Conceit, 36, 44, 85, 128, 146, 235, 237, 262, 404, 411 f., 509, 530, 533, 593 f., 675; of knowledge, 44, 243, 354, 402, 478, 577
 Concentration, 182 f., 382; child's, 191, 382
 Conditioned reflexes, 15 f., 21, 59, 86, 267, 304, 306, 542
 Conditioned reflex therapy, 549
 Conditioned responses, 15 f.
 Conduct disorders, impulse to, 566
 Confidence, 210, 217, 430 f.; and mental health, 65; in child, 490; in industry, 491
 Conflicts, mental, 203 f., 250, 276, 332-368, 555, 576; absolutism and relativity, 358-362; adolescent, 343, 346-349, 576; as opportunity, 358; different ages, 342; domestic, 336; drugs, 344 f.; emotional, 567; ignoring, 345; inevitable, 344; major, 334; methods of solving, 344-347; professional, 338, 367; purpose and fear, 350 f.; religious, 362 f.; repression, 346; self, 333; social conditions, 337; sleep, 345; teachers, 355, 367; unconscious, 354; with parents, 577
 Conklin, E. S., 142, 170
 Conscience, 58; individual differences, 59 f.; emotional complex, 60; instruction in, 461; New England, 341; reason, 61
 Constitutional type, 166
 Convention, 59; and nature, 573
 Coolidge, Calvin, 28
 Cooper, Olive, 104, 119
 Coöperation, 489, 618, 629
 Copernicus, 243, 583
 Corrie, J., 479
 Coué, 234
 Counts, G. S., 433, 519
 Cox, C. M., 170, 653
 Craunssel, E., 150, 171
 Crane, Frank, 376, 405
 Crawford, N. A., 479
 Creative personalities or robots, 643
 Crile, G. W., 261, 267, 557
 Critics, 148 f.; and learners, 148
 Criticism, 477
 Crosland, Harold R., 97, 119
 Curtis, H. S., 524
 Cushing, H. M., 171
 Cyclothyme temperament, 125-127; 130-132, 164 f., 623, 658
 Dahl, A., 217, 691
 Dallenbach, K. N., 81
 Dalton plan, 411
 Darwin, Charles, 305, 610
 Dashiell, J. F., 615
 Davies, S. P., 670
 Daydreaming, accidents, 342
 Debates, school, 537 f.
 Debenham, F., 218
 De Busk, B. W., 610
 Decroly class, 411
 Defense mechanisms, 12, 30, 35 f., 44, 250, 271, 325, 375, 404, 425, 530, 538, 565
 Delinquent adolescent, 548
 Dell, F., 605
 Democratic group, 686
 Democratic training, 520
 Dependence, sense of, 384 f., 404; fear preventive, 315
 Derrick, C., 548, 605

- Development, 596, 617; genetic stages, 527 f., 649; precocious, 619, 627; premature, 335 f., 366; psychoses, 166, 332, 532, 548, 621, 642
- Dewey, John, 6 f., 26, 524
- Dickens, Charles, 114, 423, 590, 601
- Diet, 13
- Discipline, 166; genetic point of view, 423; preventive, 380, 422 f.
- Disease, 286; fear of, 299
- Disintegrated types, 155, 162, 169, 186
- Disintegrating conditions, 203, 247-290, 332
- Disintegration, 124, 179, 225, 229, 247, 279, 282, 293, 309
- Disposition, types, 212 f.
- Dissociation, 190, 646
- Dodd, L. W., 245
- Donaldson, H. H., 215, 217
- Doubt, 576, 585; adolescent, 364, 569 f.
- Douglass, A. A., 605
- Downey, J. E., 171, 688
- Drawing, genetic method in, 625
- Dressing, habits, 441 f.
- Drever, James, 691
- Drugs, 367; mental conflicts, 344
- Drummond, M., 330, 691
- Dummer, E. S., 653
- Dunlap, Knight, 56
- Edison, Thomas A., 283
- Education, aim, 407, 687; genetic method, 622-645; social, 484
- Edwards, Jonathan, 571
- Efficiency and health, 250
- Ego, 24, 77, 79 f., 134, 189, 222, 231, 281, 287, 370, 520 f., 646; child's, 341, 637; complex, 555, 663; development of, 28-53; hypersensitive, 42; hypertrophied, 35, 45, 233, 235, 271, 373, 411, 530-532, 559, 577, 596; integration of, 564; parental, 366
- Egocentrism, 31, 39, 42, 49, 230, 232, 243, 281, 622, 632, 663
- Egoism, 45, 118, 133, 146 f., 366, 566, 595, 597; and illness, 251-253; tests, 663
- Eidetic imagery among children, 150-162
- Eidetic types, 149-155
- Einstein, Albert, 117, 359, 362, 515
- Ekdahl, A. G., 691
- Eliot, George, 391, 601
- Eliot, T. D., 311, 330
- Elkind, H. B., 524, 670, 688, 691
- Elliott, G. L., 606
- Elliott, R. M., 174
- Ellis, H. H., 171
- Ellis, Robert S., 691
- Ellwood, C. A., 524
- Emergent evolution, 683
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 208
- Emerson, W. R. P., 403, 592, 606
- Emancipation from parents, 539-545, 559, 579, 602, 604
- Emotion, 54, 72, 309, 394, 396, 400; conditioned, 17 f.; control, 216, 229, 269, 394 f., 536 f., expression, 205 f., genetic studies, 614; hygiene, 204 f., 459; repression, 206; theories, 55 f.
- Empedocles, 634
- Endocrine glands, 4, 22, 25, 534, 683
- Eng, Helga, 51
- Enke, W., 171
- Environment, 12, 200 f.; responses to, 14; social, 19
- Envy, 45, 205, 565
- Epictetus, 67, 81
- Errors, unconscious, 07
- Excitement, avoidance, 450

- Existence, fact of, 572
 Expletives, use of, 206 f.
 Extraversion, 142-145, 244, 623
 Extraverts, 141-145, 242
- Failure, 144, 235, 237, 247, 276, 329, 409 f., 432, 678; fear of, 306-308, 311, 556; first grade, 419; problem of, 407-434; in school, 407 f.; in the value of, 411
 Familiarity as pitfall, 397
 Family, 498; influence, 19
 Farnsworth, C. H., 625, 653
 Farr, C. B., 171
 Fatigue, 247 f., 286, 334, 342
 Fear, 17, 102, 205 f., 235, 237, 243, 258, 261, 275, 308, 320 f., 342, 483, 509, 615, 642; adolescent, 237, 294, 555; childhood, 295, 321 f.; complex, 305 f., 308, 328, 350 f.; conditioned, 294 f.; control, 556; direct action, 309 f., 318, 395; effects, 312, 328; of failure, 306-308, 311, 356; false remedies, 311; genetic psychology, 294-297; hygiene, 319; of blame, 375 f., and personality, 291-331; remedies for, 311, 314-322, 328
 Fear-producing conditions, 297-302
 Feeling, 55
 Fénelon, F., 469
 Ferenczi, S., 412, 433
 Feroberger, S. W., 171
 Ferris, E., 434
 Feuchtersleben, E., 188, 217
 Fichte, Johann G., 570
 Fischer-Hirschberg, 154
 Fish, F. P., 193 f., 218
 Fishbein, M., 433
 Folsom, Joseph K., 694
 Food dramas, 35
 Food fussing, 38
 Fosdick, H. E., 668
 Foster, Sybil, 370, 405
 Freedom, 87, 458, 476, 523; danger of, 448; group, 521
 Fretwell, E. K., 694
 Freud, S., 25, 31, 51, 84, 92, 119, 345, 640, 660
 Freyd, M., 127 f., 171
 Froebel, Friedrich, 610
 Fryer, Douglas, 81, 694
 Fullerton, G. S., 389
 Furley, P. H., 606
 Furukawa, T., 5, 26
- Galton, Francis, 426
 Garbini, A., 624, 653, 661
 Gault, R. H., 525, 610, 653
 Gautama, 66, 486
 Genetic method, 30, 139, 216, 527, 609-622, 651; in arithmetic, 625; drawing, 625; education, 622-645; language, 624; morals, 628; music, 625; reading, 624; psychology, 629; writing, 624
 Genetic point of view, 45, 53, 56, 141, 190, 196, 342, 362, 393, 423, 609-655, 686; psychiatry, 640 f.
 Genetic psychology of fear, 294-297
 Genetic stages of development, 158
 Gesell, Arnold, 5 f., 14, 27, 34, 51, 372, 405, 479, 612-614, 653, 661, 681, 691
 Gestalt psychology, 611
 Giese, F., 171
 Gilbreth, Lillian M., 499
 Giovanni, M., 221
 Glagau, H., 99, 119
 Glanville, A. D., 81
 Glueck, B., 51, 479, 669, 689
 Goddard, H. H., 218, 550, 606

- Godkin, E. L., 207, 219
 Goethe, J. W. von, 92, 138, 206,
 218, 242, 473, 598 f., 603, 688
 Goldbeck, E., 550-552, 606
 Gordon, R. G., 256, 258 f., 288
 Gorgias, 571, 583
 Gough, John B., 278
 Gould, G. M., 251, 288
 Grant, U. S., 28, 251
 Gregory, M. S., 446, 479
 Grindley, G. C., 691
 Gross, J., 171
 Gross, Otto, 126
 Group, coöperation, 489; free-
 dom, 521; hygiene, 488; inte-
 gration, 488, 490; leaders, 493;
 patriotism, 520; permanence,
 516; school, 500; success, 414;
 training, 496
 Groves, E. R., 218, 368, 525, 544,
 606
 Growth, 457, 680 f.
 Guernsey, M., 653
 Gulbord, A., 543, 606
 Gundlach, R. H., 174
 Gurewitsch, M., 691
 Guthrie, E. R., 144, 171
 Gutzmann, H., 624, 653
 Habits, 15, 201; dressing, 441 f.;
 measurement of, 427
 Haggerty, M. E., 479
 Hall, G. Stanley, 46, 51, 202, 205,
 214 f., 218, 267, 282, 288, 330,
 336, 362, 368, 468 f., 527 f.,
 552, 606, 610, 614, 617, 657,
 688
 Hamilton, Alexander, 292, 330
 Hamilton, A. E., 51
 Hankins, F. H., 525
 Hardships, meeting, 195 f.
 Harper, William R., 283
 Harris, J. A., 81
 Hartmann, K. R. E. von, 84, 119,
 571
 Hartshorne, Hugh, 27, 500,
 525
 Hartwell, S. W., 694
 Haste, 262-266, 286, 323, 678; in
 schools, 421, 441, 477, 509
 Hawthorne, N., 372, 405, 455,
 516 f., 525, 590
 Hayes, E. C., 525
 Head, Henry, 256 f., 288
 Health, conditions, 429; diag-
 nosis, 592; efficiency, 250;
 mental, 65, 144 f., 200 f., 309,
 536, 539, 678; personal, 580
 Healy, William, 119, 368, 654
 Heibredner, E., 144, 171
 Heller, T., 172
 Helmholtz, H. L. F. von, 20, 117
 Helps, Arthur, 33
 Henley, William E., 282
 Henning, H., 81, 118 f.; experi-
 ments, 89-92
 Henry, G. W., 218
 Herbart, Johann F. S., 60
 Herder, Johann G., 598
 Heredity and environment, 14
 Heroes of defeat, 413
 Heroes of illness, 251
 Herrick, C. J., 680, 689
 Hesketh, F. E., 693
 Heterosexuality, 530, 544 f., 559,
 602
 Hetherington, C., 592
 Hetzer, H., 218
 Hill, A. S., 472
 Hill, A. V., 479
 Hill, H. C., 52
 Hirn, Y., 206, 218
 Hirsch, N. D. M., 692
 Hölderlin, Friedrich, 96
 Hohenzollern, Wilhelm, 308, 532
 Hollingworth, L. S., 587, 606,
 676, 680
 Holmes, G., 257
 Holmes, John Haynes, 665
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 265,
 283, 650, 654

- Holt, E. B., 346, 352, 368, 604,
609, 649 f., 654
Homesickness, 543
Honesty, scientific, 356
Horace (the poet), 688
Horwitz, A., 54, 81
Howard, D. T., 293, 330
Hrdlicka, Ales, 326
Huang, I., 694
Hudson, W. H., 218, 227 f., 245
Hufeland, C. W., 225
Hulbert, H. S., 342, 368
Hull, C. L., 288
Hume, David, 16, 570, 619 f.
Humor, sense of, 116, 210 f., 217,
595
Hunger, 247 f.
Hunter, W. S., 692
Huntington, E., 201, 218
Hygiene, 225, 339, 403, 408,
487 f., 512, 523, 641, 659, 673-
678; aims, 496; method of,
208, 658; of emotion, 204 f.,
439; of instruction, 357
Hypnosis, 256; and suggestion,
64
Hyslop, James H., 672
- Ibsen, Henrik, 576
Ichheiser, G., 692
Ideals, 62
"If" for girls, 47
Ilin, M., 518, 525
Illness, 247, 249; as defense, 35;
egoism, 251 f.; heroes of, 251
Imagination and memory, 67
Impulses, development of human,
618
Indignation and fear, 320 f.
Industry, confidence in, 491;
mental hygiene, 515; task in,
670 f.
Inferiority, sense of, 42, 85, 107,
145 f., 235-237, 262, 276, 312,
562, 580, 593, 642, 676
- Inhibitions, 187, 191 f., freedom
from, 215
Insecurity, sense of, 483; men-
ace to health, 329
Insincerity, 250
Inskoop, Annie Dolman, 218
Instruction, hygiene of, 357
Integrated personality, 476;
types, 155, 162, 169
Integrating methods, 465-472
Integration, 1 f., 31, 53, 77-80,
123, 176 f., 202, 204, 216, 221,
226, 244, 247, 257, 269, 277,
436, 587, 647, 679-682, 686 f.;
in the child, 181 f., 192 f.; dis-
sociation, 646; egocentric, 281;
group, 488; at higher levels, 6,
18, 45, 181, 190 f., 196, 200,
214, 216, 277 f., 287, 346 f.,
351-353, 356, 367, 392 f., 405,
457, 536, 558 f., 584, 603, 609,
643-651, 683, 688; illustra-
tions, 183 f.; initial, 179; at
low levels, 179 f., 189, 277, 279,
282, 287, 511, 688; pathological
forms of, 266; of plants and
animals, 196; pseudo, 365; re-
ducing pain by, 256 f.; tend-
ency to, 186 f.; wider signifi-
cance of, 185 f.
Intellect or emotion, 396
Intelligence, 72; and eidetic abil-
ity, 154 f.; and testimony,
70
Interests and attitudes, 63; and
fear, 323; and prevision, 665;
social, 529
International Kindergarten Union,
417
Introspection, 592; danger from,
561
Introversion, 142-145, 244, 623;
and mental health, 144 f.
Introverts, 141-145, 241 f.
Isaacs, S., 692
Ivanov-Smolensky, A. G., 288

- Jaensch, E., 81, 149 f., 153, 155, 161, 172, 185 f., 218, 368, 661
 Jaensch, W., 172
 Jabn, Friedrich Ludwig, 599
 James, Henry, 19, 207
 James, William, 46, 51, 63, 81, 126, 205, 207, 212, 282, 345, 475, 480, 570, 584
 Janet, P., 157, 172, 309 f., 330, 473, 677
 Jastrow, J., 81, 269, 288
 Jealousy, 33, 44, 205, 230, 243, 271, 335, 339, 366, 370-372, 380, 404, 483, 565, 642
 Jefferson, Joe, 200
 Jennings, H. S., 218, 494 f., 525, 654, 684
 Jesus, 73, 117, 225, 336, 486, 634, 688
 Johnson, Andrew, 28
 Johnson, George E., 458
 Johnson, M., 606
 Jones, "Bobby," 279
 Jones, E., 81, 372, 405
 Jones, M. C., 51
 Judgment, 73
 Jung, C. G., 126, 141, 172
 Jung, H., 606
 Jurisprudence and mental hygiene, 669
 Kahn, E., 480
 Kant, Immanuel, 58, 67, 244 f., 341 f., 598, 648; mental hygiene of, 225 f.
 Kant, O., 288
 Karger, K., 161
 Katz, D., 461 f., 480
 Keatinge, M. W., 245
 Kempf, E. J., 54, 81
 Kenworthy, M. E., 288
 Kepner, W. A., 684
 Kerschensteiner, G., 500, 525
 Keyserling, H. A., 489, 525
 Kierkegaard, S. A., 198
 Kilpatrick, W. H., 418, 433
 Kindergarten, 39; task in, 194, 417 f.
 Kipling, Rudyard, 46-48, 51, 205, 207, 242, 550, 590, 606
 Kleint, M., 92
 Klüver, H., 150, 152, 154, 161-163, 172
 Knowledge, conceit of, 44, 74, 243, 354, 402, 478, 577; as protection against prejudices, 99; scientific method, 66, 317
 Köhler, W., 179, 606, 683, 689
 Koffka, K., 34, 51, 119, 179, 219
 Kollarits, J., 92
 Kolle, K., 126, 172
 Kraepelin, E., 124, 126, 173
 Kramer, F., 692
 Krasnogorski, N. I., 289, 692
 Krasusky, W. S., 135, 139, 173; studies of children, 129-135
 Kreisler, F., 221
 Kretschmer, E., 5, 27, 124-126, 129 f., 134 f., 139, 173, 658, 661
 Kroh, O., 151 f., 173
 Krueger, E. T., 694
 Külpe, O., 255 f., 289
 Kuenzel, M. W., 654
 Lagerlöf, Selma, 90
 Laird, D. A., 219, 302, 330
 Lancaster, E. G., 607
 Language, as expression of feeling, 209 f.; genetic method, 624
 Lashley, K. S., 2 f., 27, 187, 219, 284, 587, 644
 Learners and critics, 148
 Learning, 588, 680 f.; attitude, 63, 65, 217, 238 f., 245
 Leavitt, R. G., 407, 433
 Lee, Joseph, 252
 Leibnitz, G. W. von, 570
 Lerrico, M. O., 693
 Lessing, T., 417
 Leuba, James H., 82, 280

- Lewin, K., 289
 Lewis, M. H., 692
 Liefmann, E., 152, 173
 Life, value of, 590
 Lilly, W. S., 245
 Lincoln, Abraham, 383
 Lindbergh, Charles A., 181,
 313 f., 320, 488
 Locke, John, 437, 568
 Lohbauer, H., 554, 607, 654
 Lombroso, Cesare, 562
 Longfellow, Henry W., 471
 Loss, fear of, 301, 328
 Lotze, R. H., 571, 598
 Love, 17, 22, 205 f., 297, 309,
 314, 615
 Lovell, M. R., 669, 689
 Lowell, James Russell, 223, 245,
 535, 607
 Lowrey, Lawson G., 414
 Ludwig, Emil, 532, 607
 Lyman, R. L., 52
 Lyra, Nicholas de, 240

 McCollum, E. V., 13, 27
 McCormack, T. J., 598 f., 607
 McDougall, William, 24 f., 28,
 82, 692
 McGee, W. J., 28
 McGinnis, E., 692
 McGregor, A. L., 480
 MacKenzie, Alexander, 278
 MacKenzie, J. G., 480
 Maclaren, Ian, 212, 219
 McManus, Seumas, 113, 119
 MacPherson (freebooter), 228
 Maher, E. A., 36
 Maine, Henry, 336
 Maine de Biran, F. P. G., 630 f.
 Manic depressive neuroses, 124 f.
 Manson, G. E., 689
 Manuel, H. T., 21, 27
 Marbe, Karl, 11, 68, 186, 657 f.,
 689
 Marcrosson, I. F., 173

 Marcuse, L., 123, 173
 Margraf, W., 289
 Marsh, L. C., 694
 Marston, L. R., 143 f., 173
 Marston, William, 219, 246
 Masks, 12, 114 f., 210, 574; and
 reality, 110 f.; in high schools,
 113
 Massachusetts Society for Mental
 Hygiene, 52, 379
 Mateer, F., 52, 480
 Maturation, 14, 190, 613, 680
 Maturity, 45; normal, 33
 May, Mark A., 27, 122, 173, 500,
 525
 Mayer, K., 119
 Mead, C. D., 173
 Memory, and imagination, 67;
 of children, 70 f.
 Meninger, R., 92, 119
 Menninger, K. A., 289, 479
 Mental conflicts, 203 f., 250, 276,
 332-368, 555, 576
 Mental disorder, 641
 Mental health, 65, 144 f., 150,
 200 f., 309, 312, 536, 539, 678;
 and disintegrating conditions,
 247-290; failure, 407 f.; speech,
 468; and success, 407 f.; and
 unemployment, 519
 Mental hygiene, 39, 282, 314,
 325, 409, 422, 472-478, 558,
 591, 650, 668-672; at adoles-
 cence, 553 f.; in industry, 515,
 670 f.; jurisprudence and, 669
 Mental twists, 388
 Mercier, Cardinal, 66
 Metabolism, 5, 20 f.; mental, 21,
 103, 287, 323, 396, 443, 647
 Meumann, E., 32, 219, 266, 289
 Meyer, Adolf, 6, 289, 677, 689
 Merger, E., 289
 Michelangelo, 221
 Miles, G. H., 156, 173
 Mill, John Stuart, 275, 289, 308,
 363, 368, 453

Miller, Crichton, 324
 Miller, Joaquin, 201
 Millikan, R. A., 63, 82
 Misunderstanding, 32, 241, 678
 Mohr, G. J., 174
 Montessori, Maria, 182, 219; system, 411
 Morals, genetic method, 628
 Morley, John, 449
 Morgan, J. J. B., 119, 368
 Morgan, T. H., 219
 Morse, Wayne L., 466-468, 472, 480
 Mosso, Angelo, 330
 Motives, genetic sequence, 620
 Müller, Johannes, 117
 Muller, C. G., 219
 Murchison, C., 246, 694
 Murphy, Gardner, 695
 Music, genetic method, 625
 Myers, C., 639
 Myers, C. S., 654
 Myers, G. C., 52, 265, 480
 Myerson, Abraham, 494

Naccarati, S., 219
 Nansen, Fridtjof, 8
 Napoleon, 247, 598
 Narcissism, 37
 Nast, Thomas, 109
 Nathanson, Y. S., 330
 Nature and convention, 573
 Neeb, M., 82
 Negativism, 38, 381, 616
 Nelson, Louise, 449 f., 480
 Nervous system, autonomic, 54; central, 190
 Netschajeff, A., 52, 289, 480
 Newton, Isaac, 360
 Nicholas of Roumania, 163 f.
 Nietzsche, F. W., 126, 563
 Noise, 328; children, 303; fear, 301; pathological effects, 302
 Normality, 77, 177
 Norton, Arthur O., 455

Oates, D. W., 82, 525
 Oates, L. E. G., 189
 Obedience, 460
 Oberer, L., 654
 Objective attitude, 149, 213, 221-246, 353, 377, 559, 595, 685; of children, 232 f.; pseudo, 230 f.; remedy for fear, 324 f.; self-training, 234
 Objective thinking, 43
 Odum, Howard W., 525
 Ogden, R., 219
 Ogden, Robert M., 122, 174, 178, 245, 525, 654, 680, 683, 689
 Olson, Willard C., 427, 433, 479
 Omniscience, adolescent, 530, 533
 Order and success, 428
 Orlow, G. E., 692
 Ostwald, W., 126
 Otis, E. L., 47
 Overholser, W., 689
 Overstreet, H. A., 692

Pain, 247, 253 f., 286; hygiene of, 260; hysterical, 258 f., 286; lower center, seat of, 257 f.
 Palmer, George H., 383, 405
 Parents, 449; child's dependence on, 315; conflict with, 577; delinquent, 456; divorced, 337; and dominance over children, 275 f.; education of, 456, 478; emancipation from, 384, 530-545, 559, 570, 602, 604; faults of, 415 f.; interference of, 272 f.; primer for, 457-465; problems of, 463-465; qualifications of, 637; unconscious attitudes of, 104-106
 Parker, G., 503
 Parker, S. C., 420, 607, 624, 654
 Partisan and nonpartisan types, 90 f.
 Pasteur, Louis, 522
 Paterson, D. G., 174

- Patri, Angelo, 262, 289, 339, 418, 434, 540, 607, 695
- Patrick, G. T. W., 82, 345
- Patriotism, and the automobile, 502-514; group, 520
- Patterns, 178, 230; behavior, 49, 206, 396, 456, 465 f., 486, 613, 679
- Pauli, R., 289
- Paulsen, J., 692
- Pavlov, I. P., 289, 692
- Payne, S. M., 82
- Pearl, Raymond, 639, 654
- Pearson, G. H. J., 690
- Pearson, Karl, 654
- Pechstein, L. A., 480
- Pende, N., 174
- Pepper, G. W., 369
- Perez, B., 343, 368
- Persistence, 198 f., 686
- Personal equation, 48, 116, 637
- Personality, 21, 438, 660, 665, 676; and anxiety, 323; autistic, 126; background of, 1-28; and character, 122; child's, 135, 426, 464; conflicts, 332; definitions of, 121; and diet, 13; differences, 4, 25, 121-175, 623, 639; disintegration, 124; disorders, 546, 589; factors, 23, 53-83; and fear, 291-331; hygiene of, 285, 609; integrated, 78 f., 190 f., 200, 202, 226, 465, 476, 536; Marbe's view of, 657 f.; maturity of, 46; observation of, 427; problems, 435-481; renaissance of, 43, 527-603; shut-in, 42, 455, 482; study of, 426, 464, 656-667; tests, 9; the great gift, 597 f., 674; total, 77, 161, 170, 597, 617; traits, 76, 594; wholesome, 58, 123, 176-220, 223, 651
- Peters, W., 82, 480
- Pfahler, G., 174
- Phantasy, child's, 37, 133 f., 424
- Phillips, Wendell, 88, 470-472
- Physical defect, and fear, 306
- Piaget, Jean, 30-32, 38, 52, 168, 174, 232, 246, 281, 343, 385 f., 405, 468, 593, 607, 621 f., 624, 629-637, 654, 661
- Piéron, Henri, 176, 219, 401, 405, 682, 689
- Pitfalls and survivals, 369-406, 397 f.; conceit of knowledge, 402; emotion, 394, 400; injurious, 388; low objective, 393; one's past, 390 f.; perfection, 392
- Plato, 336, 536, 582
- Play, freedom for, 458
- Polen, Laura, 126, 174
- Porter, H., 296, 321, 330
- Pound, Roscoe, 587
- Practice and belief, 579
- Pratt, G. K., 219
- Prejudices, 85 f., 116 f.; of teachers, 96 f.; partisan, 100 f.; unconscious, 92-99
- Prevention, method of, 487
- Prevision, teacher's, 665 f.
- Prince, Morton, 55, 82, 120
- Problems, social, 501
- Project method, 411
- Profanity, 206-210
- Professional attitude, 231
- Protagoras, 586
- Pseudo-objective attitudes, 230-232
- Psychiatry, and hygiene, 659; genetic sequence, 640
- Psychiatric point of view, 77
- Psychology, aid of, 410; of accidents, 342; and the genetic method, 629; statistical, 639
- Psychoses, automobile, 509; circular, 126; of development, 166, 332, 532, 548, 621, 642
- Puffer, J. A., 525
- Purposive activity, 460

- Pyknic type, 124 f., 127, 129 f., 134 f., 164-167; among ants, 142
- Quick, R. H., 480
- Race characteristics, 139 f.
- Rage, 17
- Rand, W., 480
- Rank, O., 52
- Rationalization, 62, 73, 102, 120, 230, 243, 245, 250, 364, 366, 474, 537, 569, 575, 577
- Reading, for adolescents, 600; genetic method, 624
- Reality and masks, 110 f.
- Reckless, W. C., 694
- Reëducation, 205, 259, 497 f.
- Reflex, conditioned, 15 f., 21, 59, 86, 267, 304, 306, 542; first after birth, 177
- Reformer, attitude of, 232
- Regensburg, J., 270, 289
- Relativity, 127, 365; and absolutism, 358-362
- Religious adjustment, 586 f.
- Religious attitudes, 66
- Religious conflict, 362 f.
- Repetition, 198 f.
- Repression, 346
- Responsibility, need of, 559
- Retardation, case of, 270
- Reuchlin, Johann, 240
- Richards, E. L., 219
- Richards, Laura E., 27
- Richmond, W., 607
- Richter, Jean Paul, 201, 219, 424
- Rihbany, A. M., 207, 229
- Rikimaru, J., 82
- Ritter, C., 655
- Rivalry, 213, 618, 629
- Rivers, W. H. R., 255
- Roback, A. A., 58, 82, 452, 525
- Robbery of child's task, 272, 416 f., 445, 499, 678
- Robin, G., 52
- Robinson, John, 535
- Robots or creative personalities, 643
- Rochat, Jules, 520
- Rockne, Knute, 437
- Roessler, F., 152, 655
- Roosevelt, T., 28, 90, 648
- Root, Elihu, 494
- Rosanoff, A. J., 229
- Rothe, K. C., 135-139, 174
- Rousseau, J. J., 201, 527, 550, 622, 628
- Rowell, E. G., 693
- Ruskin, John, 308, 384, 449-455
- Russell, E. H., 422
- Russia, social experiment in, 517-529
- St. Augustine, 66
- St. Jerome, 66, 240
- St. Paul, 33, 46, 205, 333, 486
- Sadler, W. S., 692
- Sand, George, 392
- Sandpile, story of the, 202
- Sanford, Edmund C., 214 f.
- Santayana, G., 124 f., 120, 533 f., 607
- Sarcasm, 477, 678
- Savonarola, 469
- Scheffel, J. V. von, 601
- Schelling, F. W. J. von, 570
- Schilder, P., 304, 330, 695
- Schiller, J. C. F. von, 341, 368, 392
- Schizophrénia, 224-226, 265
- Schizothyme temperament, 125 f., 165, 623, 653
- Schleiermacher, F. E. D., 325
- Schmitt, K., 174
- Schmülling, F., 251, 256-262, 174
- School, failure, 407 f.; social group, 500; workshop, 303 f.

- Schopenhauer, A., 570
 Schorn, M., 92
 Schroff, E., 655
 Schulte, H., 482
 Schultze, F. E. O., 693
 Schumacher, W., 154, 174
 Schurz, Carl, 600
 Schwab, S. I., 607
 Schweicher, J., 368
 Science, aim of, 240; errors of, 583; and ideals, 62; usual attitude toward, 240
 Scientific attitude, 65, 148, 238 f., 245, 353, 477, 559, 595
 Scientific training, 233
 Scott, Colin, 111, 323, 331
 Scott, Robert F., 189
 Seashore, C. E., 607
 Segal, H. L., 219
 Self, the, 28 f., 149, 281 f., 482; and conflict, 333, 338; fear of, 567; normal, 33
 Self-analysis, 85, 663 f.
 Self-assertion, 41, 616
 Self-complex, 29
 Self-consciousness, 530
 Self-control, lack of, 566 f.
 Self-defense, case of, 40
 Self-depreciation, 45
 Self-discovery, 43-45, 50, 110, 236-238, 554, 560-604; aids to, 595; reading as an aid to, 600
 Self-knowledge, 44, 146 f., 465, 475, 561, 573
 Self-love, 37, 39, 133, 372
 Self-regard, normal, 45, 663
 Self-respect, 675
 Self-study, 43, 226, 403, 554, 557, 567, 582-603, 623
 Selfishness, 85, 483 f., 509
 Senescence, hygiene of, 282, 284
 Sensitive, rules for the, 370, 372 f., 375, 378, 404, 530
 Sensitiveness, adolescent, 552
 Sex differences, 144
 Shakespeare, William, 45, 299, 597, 601, 675
 Shand, A. F., 83
 Shaw, C. G., 589, 607
 Sherman, M., 655
 Sherrington, C. S., 4, 27, 53, 83, 181, 587
 Shields, T. E., 163 f., 174
 Shinn, M. W., 34, 52
 Shirley, M. M., 695
 Sill, Edward R., 106, 120, 487, 526
 Simonds, N., 27
 Simson, T., 305, 331
 Skepticism, development of, 38
 Slaughter, J. R., 607
 Sleep, 283; conflicts in, 345; hygiene of, 202 f.
 Small, M. H., 208, 220
 Smith, M., 174
 Smuts, Jan C., 5-7, 27, 123, 426, 434, 674, 689
 Snedden, D., 607
 Social attitudes, unconscious, 108
 Social development, early stages, 617 f.
 Social education, 484
 Social experiment in Russia, 517
 Social group, healthful, 679; problem, 482-526
 Social interests, 529
 Social methods, 483
 Social problems, 501
 Social protection against fear, 327
 Social stimulus value, 122, 216, 494, 657, 675
 Social training, 147, 234, 539
 Socrates, 73, 110, 561
 Solomon, 224
 Sommerville, R. C., 434
 Sophocles, Professor, 383
 Sorrow, 473
 Spearman, C., 23, 27, 79, 83, 406, 526, 593, 607
 Speaking, essentials for, 470
 Speech and integration, 465-472

- Speed, mania, 510; in mental tests, 263 f.
- Sport, mental hygiene in, 672
- Spranger, E., 175, 806
- Sprowls, J. W., 526
- Stack, H. J., 695
- Standardization, 545
- Stedman, Henry R., 608
- Stekel, W., 8, 27, 37, 52, 168, 561, 589, 608
- Stern, W., 32, 83, 120, 161, 186, 666 f., 689
- Stewart, C. D., 246
- Stimuli, unconscious, 102
- Stockbridge, F. P., 439, 481, 655
- Stratton, G. M., 290, 459, 481
- Stratton, Samuel W., 614, 644, 655
- Strecker, E. A., 608, 668, 689
- Structure, 177; physical, 125-127, 129, 135, 139-141
- Subjective attitudes, 222 f., 230, 242
- Success, 65, 147, 200, 237, 283, 329, 409 f., 413, 420, 442, 476, 539, 596, 604; essential, 407 f., 430; group, 414; and order, 428-430
- Suggestibility of children, 64
- Sully, James, 406
- Sumner, W. G., 526
- Superego, 60, 149
- Superiority, sense of, 42, 145 f.
- Supreme hour, 228
- Survivals, childish, 46, 48, 86, 108, 193, 205, 226, 230, 281, 304, 334 f., 338 f., 342, 355, 366, 369, 387, 404, 413, 443, 564 f., 577, 604, 614, 638, 663; and pitfalls, 369-406; as cause of conflict, 335; healthful, 382; injurious emotional, 369; intellectual, 385; negativism, 381
- Suspicion, 230, 338-390, 404, 492, 642
- Sweeney, M. E., 480
- Swift, E. J., 693
- Taft, J., 220
- Tagore, R., 66, 486
- Taine, H. A., 24, 29, 52
- Task, 45, 86 f., 183, 198, 204, 221, 233, 266, 272, 281 f., 284, 310, 415-419, 436-451, 476, 489, 498, 519, 556 f., 596, 678, 684 f.; at adolescence, 536, 547; of the child, 182, 193 f., 308, 411, 677 f.; in industry, 670 f.
- Taylor, W. S., 693
- Teacher, 357, 427; attitudes of, 338 f., 379 f.; conflicts, 355, 367; faults, 415; function, 408 f.; helps for, 426, 430, 432; mental health of, 678; and the perfection pitfall, 392; prejudices, 96 f.; qualifications, 687; study of, 665 f.; who blames, 421
- Temperaments, classification of, 54, 140; cyclothyme, 125 f.; schizothyme, 125 f.
- Terhuoe, A. P., 179 f., 220
- Terman, L. M., 83, 661
- Testimony and intelligence, 70; prejudiced, 94-99; types of, 68-72
- Tests, 339, 441; behavior, 500; of egoism, 663 f.; personality, 9; speed in, 263 f., 286
- Thinking, autistic, 31, 40, 469, 663; detachment in, 116 f.; egocentric, 39; objective, 39, 43
- Thirst, 247 f.
- Thomas, D. S., 27, 52
- Thomas, W., 175
- Thomas, W. I., 27, 57, 163
- Thom, Douglas A., 35, 52, 252, 290, 458, 603

- Thompson, H., 691
 Thoreau, Henry David, 201, 383
 Thorndike, E. L., 264, 481, 620, 655, 690, 695
 Thrasher, F. M., 526
 Thwing, C. H., 289
 Tolman, E. C., 655
 Tolstoi, Leo, 566
 Total personality, 77, 161, 170, 597, 617
 Trabue, M. R., 439, 481
 Tracy, Frederick, 608
 Train, Arthur, 462, 481
 Training, 234; adolescent, 535-558; democratic, 520; group, 496; in adjustment, 200; need of, 588; scientific, 233; self, 234; social, 234, 539, 559
 Triplett, N., 192, 220
 Tropisms, 1, 177, 179
 Truth, search for, 437
 Types, 365, 426, 439 f., 623; in ants, 141; asthenic, 124 f., 129 f., 134 f., 137 f., 165 f.; changes of, 138; children, 128-130; constitutional, 166; creative, 88 f.; cyclothyme, 130-132, 164 f., 658; disintegrated, 155, 162, 169, 186; eidetic, 149-155; extravert, 141-145, 241; imitative, 88 f.; integrated, 155, 162, 169; introvert, 141-145, 242; mechanical, 127 f.; manifold, 167 f.; mixed, 134, 165, 281; of disposition, 212 f.; partisan and nonpartisan, 99 f.; physical structure, 125 f.; pyknic, 124 f., 127, 129 f., 134 f., 164-167; schizothyme, 130-133, 658; social, 127 f.
 Unconscious attitudes, 84-120; emotional, 106 f.; of parents, 104-106; pathological, 86; social, 108
 Unconscious conflicts, 354
 Unconscious errors, 92-100
 Unconscious folly, 106
 Unconscious prejudices, 92 f.
 Unconscious stimuli and responses, 102
 Unconscious tendencies, danger from, 116
 Understanding, at adolescence, 558; mutual, 552; sympathetic, 546, 549 f.
Understanding the Child, 379
 Unemployment, and mental health, 519
 Unknown, fear of, 298
 "Unpardonable sin," 455
 Valeton, C. W., 331, 693
 Valery, P., 690
 Vanity, 36, 39
 Van Waters, Miriam, 275, 608
 Veeder, B. S., 607
 Vernon, P. E., 693 f.
 Viereck, G. S., 397, 406
 Villiger, W., 497, 526
 Vincent, E. L., 480
 Waltoo, G. L., 223
 Warnecke, K., 693
 Warren, Howard C., 183, 220, 246
 Washburn, M. F., 56, 83
 Watson, J. B., 17, 27, 52, 120, 177 f., 220, 222, 406, 549, 612, 615
 Weakness, relative, 580
 Webster, Arthur Gordon, 241
 Weidenreich, F., 138, 175
 Weil, H., 175
 Weld, Harry P., 625, 655
 Wellington, A. W., 496
 Wells, H. G., 546, 608

- Wernicke, C., 8
 Wertheimer, F. I., 693
 Wertheimer, M., 693
 Wexberg, E., 481
 Wheeler, O., 608
 Wheeler, Raymond H., 690
 Wheeler, William M., 141, 175, 655
 Whipple, G. M., 481
 White, Richard Grant, 471
 White, William A., 126, 175, 433, 649, 659 f., 690
 Whitehead, A. N., 683, 690
 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 564, 608
 Wholeness, 1 f., 176 f., 179, 188 f., 204, 679 f., 684, 688; initial, 177
 Wholes, 426, 611, 683; integrated, 216
 Wholesomeness, 176
 Wholesome personality, 58, 123, 176-220, 223, 244, 407, 651, 674; development of, 457; essentials, 277; of teacher, 357; wide significance of, 679-684
 Wickes, F. G., 52
 Wickman, E. K., 479
 Wiersma, E. D., 139-141, 175
 Will, 57; development, 616; and motor training, 58
 Williams, F. E., 297, 331, 537, 541 f., 544 f., 608, 690, 695
 Winslow, S. E., 278
 Wilson, Woodrow, 28
 Wisdom and development, 73 f.; and fear, 313
 Wister, Owen, 338
 Wittels, F., 290
 Wodehouse, H., 219
 Wolf, K., 218
 Wood, Leonard, 317, 385
 Wood, Thomas D., 693
 Woodrow, H., 481
 Woodworth, R. S., 142, 150, 175
 Woolley, H. T., 434
 Worcester, Elwood, 668
 Words, power of, 398
 Worry, 102, 203, 223, 342, 642
 Writing, genetic method, 624
 Wundt, Wilhelm, 54
 Yellowlees, D., 313, 331
 Yorke, Corporal, 185
 Yost, E., 526
 Young, Herman H., 610
 Young, J. B., 144, 175
 Young, K., 526
 Young, "Pep," 415
 Zanotti, F. M., 16
 Zeman, H., 151, 153
 Zillig, Maria, 5, 27, 68-72, 83, 92-102, 107, 116, 118, 120, 151 f., 175, 290, 655, 661, 693
 Zoepffel, H., 11 f., 27, 343, 615